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Head of an Ocean deity, on a bronze jug from Threadneedle Street. 1 (See p. 116.)

LONDON MUSEUM CATALOGUES: No. 3

LONDON IN ROMAN TIMES

LANCASTER HOUSE, SAINT JAMES'S, S.W.1

1930

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PREFACE

ONDINIUM was one of the five largest Roman cities north of the Alps. Its building marked the real, if premature, beginning of an organized non-insular Britain; for it was established as a focal point in a European traffic-system, at a time when the little nations of more modern Europe—England, France, Germany and the rest—had not yet hedged themselves about with a thick-set territorial nationalism. Subsequent reverions to insularity and the distracting upgrowth of new Atlantic interests have equally failed to dislodge the broad foundations of a city imperially planned.

But in a more literal sense the foundations of that London are now being dislodged at an unprecedented pace. London is being re-built, and its new buildings are both higher and deeper than their predecessors. The accumulations of earth, masonry and debris which, properly understood, contain the buried history of the city are being hewn and carted day and night without cessation. The builders of medieval and still more of Georgian London necessarily wrought much destruction amongst the upper layers of these deposits, and the evidence for the later history of Roman London has thus already perished. But neither Shakespeare's London nor Dr. Johnson's penetrated far or consistently into the lower archaeological strata, and much of these was left potentially for archaeological investigation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The opportunity has been lost, and the best friends of the city must lament the apathy of recent generations of City Fathers who, like Gallio, have “cared for none of these things.”

Spasmodic attempts, carried out often under every possible discouragement, have, it is true, been made on occasion by individuals such as Charles Roach Smith, to whom much of our fragmentary knowledge of Roman London is due; and more recently Dr. Philip Norman, Mr. Francis W. Reader and Mr. Frank Lambert have deserved well of their fellow-citizens in this respect. But even the mere salvage of the innumerable antiquities brought to light during building operations is

impeded by the natural anxiety of contractors and sub-contractors to adhere to a minimum time-limit ; whilst the task of rescue is further complicated by a long and often uncertain chain of responsibility extending from navvies to foremen, from sub-contractors to contractors and architects, and from various grades of lessee to the ground-landlords. Comparatively few relics pass successfully to the end of the chain, and even then their ultimate destination is too often dubious.

It is under these difficult conditions that the collection illustrated in the present catalogue has been brought together. With few exceptions, it represents the salvage from a decade of hurried re-building, and it may safely be asserted that, but for the efforts of Mr. G. F. Lawrence, who, as a member of the staff of the Museum, was largely responsible for bringing the collection together, most of the objects here catalogued would have been irretrievably lost.

The collection presents a remarkably comprehensive picture of the environment of civilian life in Roman Britain. Indeed, its comprehensiveness is sufficient to point a moral. The mere salvage of Roman relics in London is no longer of more than secondary importance. The pressing need is now for the scientific observation and record of these relics *in situ*, in relation to the various structures and strata on the history of which they are capable, if seen in position by a trained eye, of throwing a new light and interest. This work of observation must be done quickly and unobtrusively, for the harassed contractor necessarily dominates the scene. But it should be done continuously by a skilled and active archaeologist with the weight of municipal authority behind him. Only thus can our knowledge of early London be materially increased. The need is great and urgent.

The preparation of this catalogue has been facilitated by the recent issue of the report on Roman London by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England),* to which the reader is referred for details and references relating to the history and structure of the Roman city. In addition to a

* H.M. Stationery Office : 18s. net. On sale in the entrance-hall of the Museum.

general summary of these matters, the following pages include, in smaller type, certain sections of a more technical character for the use of students. In particular, the early red-glazed pottery of London is more than usually instructive, and is described in some detail in a section for which I am indebted to Mr. T. Davies Pryce, F.S.A. The potters' stamps, which likewise form a large and widely representative collection, have been collated and described by Mr. E. B. Birley. Mr. R. G. Collingwood, F.S.A., has kindly provided the drawings for Figs. 7 and 9, and has given much other help, particularly in connection with the inscriptions. Mrs. T. V. Wheeler, F.S.A., has prepared the coin-lists and has otherwise assisted in the preparation of the work. Professor R. C. Bosanquet, F.S.A., has also contributed suggestions and references, and I owe to Dr. Felix Oswald, F.S.A., and Mr. Joseph Stanfield most of the drawings of red-glazed pottery (Figs. 43-51). Mr. P. K. Kipps has supplied the plan (Pl. IV) and the "reconstruction" of a Roman forum (Fig. 1); Dr. H. H. Thomas and Mr. J. Pringle have kindly reported upon the stones from a geological standpoint, and Mr. H. Augustus Hyde has been good enough to examine specimens of wood submitted to him. Finally, I am indebted to the Director of the Römisch-Germanische Central-Museum at Mainz for the drawing of the brooch illustrated in Fig. 4; to the Chief Librarian of the Guildhall for permission to illustrate the quern-stone in Fig. 34; and to the London County Council for authority to use the drawings of the Roman ship found under the County Hall (Pl. LXI).

R. E. M. WHEELER,

Keeper and Secretary

Lancaster House,

1930

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PROLOGUE

I. THE ROMAN CONQUEST AND THE SITE OF LONDON

One day in the year 44 of our era the populace of Rome trooped out on to the neighbouring Field of Mars to witness a spectacle which the emperor had prepared for it. On the plain had been built a representation of a native British town, with (we may imagine) circular huts of timber and thatch and a defensive stockade decorated here and there, in a manner accredited to the Celts, with the heads of fallen foes. It may be supposed that this “town” was now manned by ill-armed prisoners of war, brought possibly from distant Britain for the purpose. Standing apart upon a platform, surrounded by his staff, was the emperor Claudius himself, a poor figure of a man but passably disguised in his tall, crested helmet and his general-officer’s cloak. The emperor gave the signal; his troops rushed to the attack, the village was stormed, and, from the flames which were beginning to envelope it, British kings were led forth to make submission to the victorious prince.

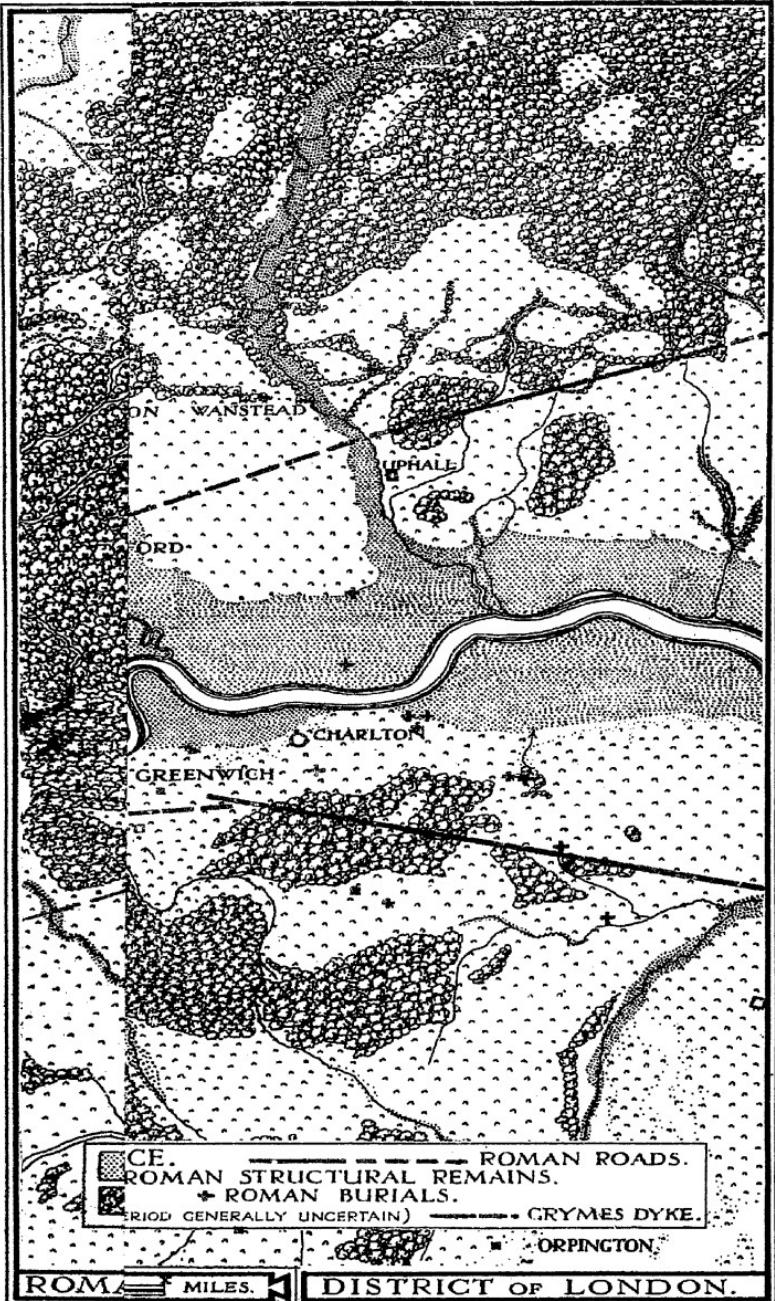
Thus, if we may slightly amplify the words of the Roman historian,* was the Roman invasion of Britain staged for the applauding mob of Rome. Actuality was given to the scene by the fact that the emperor himself had but a few months previously returned from the British front—perhaps, incidentally, from the site of London. Far off, on the uttermost limits of the known world—so remote that the soldiers, on the eve of the venture, had murmured against being led “out of the inhabited universe”—a Roman expeditionary force of some 40,000 men was at that moment fighting its way northwards and westwards across our island. It had passed the Thames in the previous year, somewhere below the site of London, “at a point near where the river empties into ocean and at flood-tide makes a lake.” There the emperor, accom-

* The actual words of Suetonius (*Claudius*, XXI) are: *Edidit et in Martio campo expugnationem direptionemque oppidi ad imaginem bellicam, et ditionem Britanniae regum, praeseditque paludatus.*

panied by reinforcements (including, it is said, a detachment of elephants), had joined it for a fortnight, had ordered a renewed advance, and had then hastened back to Rome with the tidings of victory. Thereafter the invading army had captured the native capital of Camulodunum or Colchester, and had then left south-eastern Britain to the mercy of the traders, money-lenders and builders who had followed in its wake.

With unerring judgment, these pioneers of imperial civilization were already concentrating upon the river-crossing at London. Their reasons are obvious and have often enough been stated. Geographically, the Thames estuary forms the main inlet into Britain from the Continent ; and, geologically, the site of London is the lowest point at which the river can conveniently be bridged, and is therefore the lowest spot suitable for the convergence of a regular sea-borne and land-borne traffic. Nowhere between London and the sea is there any place at which a hard gravel subsoil is present simultaneously on *both* banks of the river. But at Southwark a gravel ledge from the south approaches a gravel-capped hill on the northern shore of the narrowing river, and both sides thus offer the hard-metalled surface desirable for a permanent crossing (Pl. II).

Here the modern Londoner may pause for question. To-day it is well known that Southwark lies 5 or 6 feet below High Water Level and, with Lambeth and Deptford, requires protection by means of about 7 miles of unseen embankment. How, then, can Southwark be regarded as a natural bridge-head ? The answer is simple. A quantity of varied evidence combines to show that two thousand years ago the level of the Thames in relation to the land-surface adjacent to the estuary was upwards of 15 ft. lower than at the present day. Thus, both at Tilbury and at Brentford (see below, p. 35) Romano-British huts have been uncovered on the foreshore at the present low-tide level ; whilst at Dartford, Erith, Plumstead and elsewhere the innumerable tree-stumps of a former land-surface have been found at approximately the same depth. Under these circumstances not only would Southwark be for the most part high and dry, but we may



infer that, in the shallower river, the range of tidal action must have ceased a good deal below its present limit at Teddington, and that, as in the case of other Roman settlements at the heads of estuaries, Roman London was established near the tidal limit of the time. Thus the river traffic would retain the full advantage of ebb and flow, whilst the river-crossing would be but little disturbed by the vagaries of the tide.

2. WAS LONDON FOUNDED BY THE ROMANS?

In the wake of the invading army, then, our Roman prospectors have arrived at the site of London and have begun to build their quays and warehouses at the crossing. Should their choice be credited entirely to their own farsightedness, or had the natural amenities of the place already been realized in part by earlier settlers? Was there anything which we may call "London" before the invasion of the year 43?

The "monkish historians" of the Middle Ages were not in doubt. Geoffrey of Monmouth declares that, in the year 1108 B.C., "Brute, lineally descended from the demy god Eneas, the sonne of Venus, daughter of Iupiter, builded this city near unto the river now called Thames," and named it Troynovant or New Troy. Later, we are told, King Lud, not long before the raids of Julius Cæsar, built the walls and gates of the city and renamed it Caer-Lud or Lud's Town, whence its present name.

More recent writers have not hesitated to approach the problem along somewhat similar lines. In the name "London" they see, thinly disguised, the Welsh words "Llyn din" or "Lake city," and have proceeded to reconstruct a prehistoric London in the form of a lake-village built in a marsh or lagoon. Further, they say, the actual piles whereon this village stood have been found in and about the city, in the old beds of the Walbrook and the Fleet. And since these piles are, in fact, solid enough, it is necessary to say a word about them and the theory which they are called upon to support.

First, as to the name. The Latin name *Londinium* represents a Celtic *Londinon*, which may be derived from a Celtic personal name *Londinos* but has certainly nothing to do with the modern Welsh words "llyn din." Secondly, as to the piles. Wherever a detailed account of the discovery of these piles is preserved, it is clear that they are of Roman or later date. Indeed, it is only since the modern exploitation of concrete that the use of pile-substructures beneath stone-buildings on a marshy or otherwise unstable subsoil has been discontinued. The present Mansion House, for example, stands in the old bed of the Walbrook upon a veritable forest of piles, but need not therefore be credited to King Lud. It must on all grounds be admitted that the "Celtic lake-village" has no more substance (and far less romance) than New Troy.

Nevertheless, one strand of evidence in these later theories may seem to hold good. The name of London is in origin Celtic. Therefore, it may be argued, London itself is in origin Celtic (or prehistoric). This argument in turn fails for the good reason that the Romans, like ourselves, frequently gave native names to colonial forts and towns of their own foundation. The name, therefore, does not help the problem.

So much for conjecture. We are thus far no nearer to an answer to our question. But one or two other factors, though they may not provide a definite answer, at least assist to define the issue. These factors are partly archaeological and partly geological.

Archaeologically, there is this much evidence of the presence of prehistoric man upon the site of London. Rather less than a dozen prehistoric implements of various dates within the last 2000 years B.C. have been found here and there in the City. These at least imply that in prehistoric times some hunter or traveller occasionally passed that way and lost an axe, a spearhead or a knife upon the site. On the other hand, amongst many tons of ancient pottery found during building excavations in the City not a sherd of definitely prehistoric type has been noted. This negative evidence is important; for fragile prehistoric pottery, unlike implements of stone and metal, can rarely have travelled far from its

place of manufacture, and the presence of prehistoric potsherds on the site of London would have implied—what the implements do not—a more or less permanent settlement there in pre-Roman times. Such potsherds may yet be found. Meantime, the archaeological evidence does not support the possibility of a prehistoric London.

Geographically, mention has already been made of the dominant suitability of the site of London as the point of distribution for Continental merchandize. But that suitability is contingent not merely upon the convenience of the site for wharves and a bridge. The bridge, under these circumstances, itself implies a road-system, and this in turn pre-supposes certain social and political conditions which have an important bearing upon our question. The City and Southwark are themselves founded upon a gravel subsoil which would be tolerably dry and open under natural conditions; but to the north and, only less, to the south they are hemmed in by wide expanses of clay-land which was anciently covered with dense oak forest—a forest whereof that of Epping is to-day a threadbare relic (see Pl. II). The cutting and maintenance of arterial roads through this encumbered countryside can only have been the work of a wealthy, centralized and stable government, with a permanent interest in "developing" the hinterland. The genesis of London, in any significant sense, must have been secondary to the establishment in southern Britain of a government of this type. It remains to inquire when such a government is likely to have emerged.

Without trespassing too far upon the province of the Prehistoric Catalogue, it may be stated as a proved fact that throughout practically the whole of our prehistoric period the population of Britain was sufficiently restricted in numbers to enable it, in the main, to choose for settlement and for lines of communication those tracts of country which, by reason of a chalk or gravel subsoil, were by nature free from thick undergrowth. Nor is there any indication that the eligible regions of this kind were ever overcrowded. A map of prehistoric Britain suggests a multitude of loosely-knit population-groups, clustering upon the chalk downs and more

thinly strung along the gravel-banks of the rivers. And so along the Thames. Dry riverside hillocks, such as those which were destined to carry the nucleus of London, were eminently suitable for prehistoric settlement. On the other hand, the long stretches of gravel which flank the Thames on both sides a little higher up—approximately along the Boat Race course—were equally attractive, whilst the river there was narrower and more manageable. It is there, above the probable tidal limit of the period, that prehistoric pottery is found in abundance, and there (if by “London” we mean the main concentration of population in the London area) seems to have lain the prehistoric equivalent of London. Nor was the important element of foreign trade altogether wanting. The Thames, from the end of the Stone Age, was the most constantly used of all the highways into Britain for purposes of foreign trade and immigration. But it was used as a highway rather than as a mere gateway. The Port of London had as yet, in the absence of any regularized internal communications, no real significance.

Only at the extreme end of the prehistoric period is there a hint of change, of the emergence of the new factors which were to make London. During the last half-century before the final Roman invasion of A.D. 43 we can recognize for the first time in south-eastern Britain some anticipation of a regular intercourse with the Continent, and something approaching a centralized political control. The government of that area, thitherto shared by a number of rival kinglets, had passed into the hands of a Celtic dynasty which reigned first at Verulam (St. Albans) and then at Camulodunum (Colchester). The last of these native monarchs—Cunobelin, Shakespeare’s “Cymbeline,” who died soon after A.D. 40—was actually called by a Roman historian “the king of the Britons,” and this process of unification was doubtless encouraged indirectly by the Roman authorities as a means of facilitating negotiation and trade.

Now it has been suggested by more than one writer that, during this last phase of the prehistoric period, London did in fact come into being as a port of entry for Continental traffic during the time when Verulam and Colchester were suc-

sively capital cities. In particular, it has been suggested that London may have served as the port of Verulam. To this theory it may be objected that the commercial needs of Verulam, at the end of the first century B.C., are scarcely likely to have necessitated the development of a permanent Port of London (and why at London rather than further up-river and nearer to Verulam?); whilst the transference of the native court to Colchester at the beginning of the following century may in any case be thought to have moved the centre of commercial interest to the neighbouring estuaries of the Essex coast. On general historical and geographical grounds, there seems to be no adequate reason for postulating a pre-Roman port of London, whether established by native initiative or by that of the Roman traders who habitually thrust ahead of the conquering legions.

Mention of these traders brings us at last, in this discussion, to the only group of actual evidence to which a negative value cannot yet be definitely ascribed. Contemporary Latin writers tell us how, in Austria, Gaul and elsewhere, Roman traders preceded the "flag" and, often at the peril of their lives, opened up commercial relations with the peoples beyond the Roman frontiers. In Britain also, in the time of Cunobelin, Roman traders were no strangers to our south-eastern shores. Roman amphorae—the great two-handled vessels which were used for the transport and storage of wine and oil—have been found in graves of his period at Colchester. At the same place, the tomb of a native prince or noble, who died sometime after 17 B.C., included a medallion of the emperor Augustus and much bric-à-brac from the Roman world. Cunobelin himself employed Roman moneyers in his mint. Far away in the woods of Hampshire a little native country town, now known as Silchester, seems occasionally to have been able to acquire the Roman red-glazed wares of the famous potteries of Arezzo at or before the time of the Roman conquest. Similar wares are found from time to time on the site of London also, and these sherds, few and insignificant though they may appear to be, form in reality the only existing basis for a possible trading-settlement on the site of London prior to the Roman invasion.

Of the sherds in question, eighteen are known from various parts of the city and four of them are in the London Museum (Fig. 43). Three of them are of the ware of Arezzo, whilst the fourth, which bears the name of its potter in Greek, is of less certain Mediterranean origin. The potteries of Arezzo flourished in the latter part of the first century B.C. and the first quarter of the first century A.D. At the time of the Roman invasion of the year A.D. 43, these potteries were already on the wane, and their export trade had been largely superseded by that of newer potteries in the south of Gaul. It is therefore possible that some of the eighteen sherds referred to reached the Thames in the course of trade before the military invasion. The question, however, is one which may well be deferred until more substantial evidence accumulates.

In summary, the following points may be noted :—

1. No tangible evidence of a prehistoric native village on the site of London has yet come to light.
2. In any case, such a village would have no real claim to the parentage of London, which, in origin, owes everything to the fact that it is geographically and geologically the most convenient point of regular distribution for sea-borne traffic working in conjunction with an organized road-system.
3. Both regular commerce and organized road-system imply a wealthy and centralized government, able to negotiate upon a basis of comparative equality with the Continent.
4. These conditions may have been foreshadowed in the last generation of native rule ; but the development of a system of arterial roads from a Thames port during that period does not seem inevitable or even probable.
5. On the other hand, the opening-up of the whole of a reputedly rich countryside to Continental commerce at the time of the Roman invasion presents an obvious context for the foundation of the Port of London.

There the question may, for the present, be left. Whatever be its final answer, this much is clear : the significant life of London, as one of the great ports of the world, begins with the Roman conquest.

3. THE BEGINNING OF THE ROMAN CITY

It has been seen that London was, in origin, a bridge-head settlement. It may almost be said that London, as a commercial centre, began as the parasite of London Bridge. Nevertheless, there is no certain reference to that Bridge until the tenth century, when, as a Saxon document records, a witch was thrown therefrom into the river. A bridge is indeed referred to by the Græco-Roman historian Dio in connection with the crossing of the Thames by the army of invasion, apparently somewhere near the site of London. But the historian was writing 180 years or more after the event, and it is neither clear to his readers nor, in all likelihood, was it clear to him, whether the bridge was thrown up by the military engineers during the fight or whether it was already standing prior to their arrival. Nor, must it be remembered, do we know that the bridge referred to was actually at the site of London.

In spite of all this uncertainty, it is a safe inference that the Romans proceeded to build a bridge without delay at London, just as a little later they built bridges across the Tyne and other British rivers. Wharves also must have been constructed in the vicinity, and it is likely enough that some of the massive timbering found from time to time on the old foreshore both above and below the present London Bridge dates from the early years of the Conquest. Certainly some of it, by Miles Lane, King William Street and Fish Street Hill, is associated with very early Roman pottery ; and here it may be remarked that it is the recent study of this and other Roman pottery from London that has, more than any single thing, advanced our knowledge of the extent of the early city.

Some of this pottery, now in the Museum, is described on a later page (p. 122). Here, however, a word may be said of its historical significance in relation to the site of London. That site—the site of the full-grown Roman city—extended

from the Fleet (which still flows into the Thames at Blackfriars Bridge) on the west to the Tower of London on the east. It was divided into two approximately equal halves by a stream, the Walbrook, which still flows beneath the Bank of England and the Mansion House and enters the Thames immediately to the west of Cannon Street Station. On both sides of the Walbrook the ground rises to two hills, each about 50 feet above the main river and now crowned respectively by St. Paul's Cathedral and Leadenhall Market.

Such was the area ultimately occupied by the walled city. But in the first two decades after the Roman invasion London was a smaller place, and recent research has enabled us to visualize its approximate extent. The main body of the city lay then, as (probably) later, on the more easterly of the two hills—upon that hill which, at one point or another, has been approached by a succession of London Bridges. On this hill has been found a great part of the earliest Roman pottery, and, until the northern fringes of the hill are reached at Bishopsgate, this part of the city is free from the Roman cemeteries which normally mark the limit of habitation in a Roman town. On the other hand, although early Roman pottery is found to the west of the Walbrook, along the line of Cheapside, the area from St. Paul's northward to St. Bartholomew's and westward to Fleet Street formed a burial-ground of the earliest Roman Londoners and therefore lay beyond the first limits of the city (see p. 42). Moreover, under St. Paul's, Wren found remains of Roman pottery-kilns, and it was the custom of the classical world for potters to share with the dead the outskirts of towns, rather than to build their workshops within the inhabited region.

Thus within the first two decades of Roman London the new city stretched from somewhere near the present Custom House on the east to the eastern and southern slopes of St. Paul's hill on the west. The easterly hill was already crowded with buildings, many of them doubtless of timber, from the wharves at the bridge-head to a point slightly south of Bishopsgate; and the streets, as the Roman historian Tacitus tells us, were already teeming with merchants and busy with the trafficking of wares, when, in the year 61, the storm broke.

4. THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY IN THE YEAR 61

In that year the Roman armies lay far to the north and north-west of London. The Roman governor, Suetonius Paulinus, was hunting down his obstinate foes in North Wales. In the comparatively peaceful region of East Anglia a military officialdom, established some 10 years previously in the old native capital of Colchester, had indulged in acts of petty tyranny which the governor, however well-intentioned, had been too busy elsewhere to check. A series of outrages upon the royal house of the Iceni brought matters to a head. Under their queen Boudicca—sometimes mis-called Boadicea—the tribesmen swept down out of Norfolk, sacked Colchester, routed a legion which sought to block their way, and marched on London. Suetonius acted with speed and resolution; he hurried back from Anglesey and reached London, ahead of the tribesmen but ahead also of the main body of his troops. Under the circumstances the unwalled town could not be held, and “in the interest of the province as a whole” he determined to sacrifice it. “Neither the tears nor the entreaties of the stricken citizens,” the Roman historian tells us, “bent him from his purpose.” London and, after London, Verulam suffered the fate of Colchester. The maddened tribesmen “neither took nor sold prisoners, but massacred, hanged, burned and crucified with a headlong fury that was stimulated by the knowledge of forthcoming retribution and by the desire to snatch meanwhile at the vengeance within reach.” That retribution followed shortly afterwards, but meanwhile London, Colchester and Verulam lay in ruins and 70,000 citizens and other “friends of Rome” were amongst the slain.

Here and there about the City, between the line of the Walbrook and London Bridge, excavators cutting new foundations from 10 to 20 ft. below the street-level sometimes come across a thick layer of ashes, the remains of houses built of timber and clay, with fragments of roofing, of gaily painted wall-plaster and with early coins and pottery that must have been made before the day of Boudicca’s vengeance. Under King William Street, Lombard Street and Eastcheap such

remains have been noted in an abundance which suggests that here we have actual evidence of that vengeance ; and in the burnt layer which lay at a depth of about 17 ft. at the head of London Bridge Approach lay a small heap of 17 coins of Agrippa and the emperor Claudius, all minted before the year 54, and now partially fused together by the heat (we may suppose) of the flames of 61. These coins are now in the Museum (see p. 189).

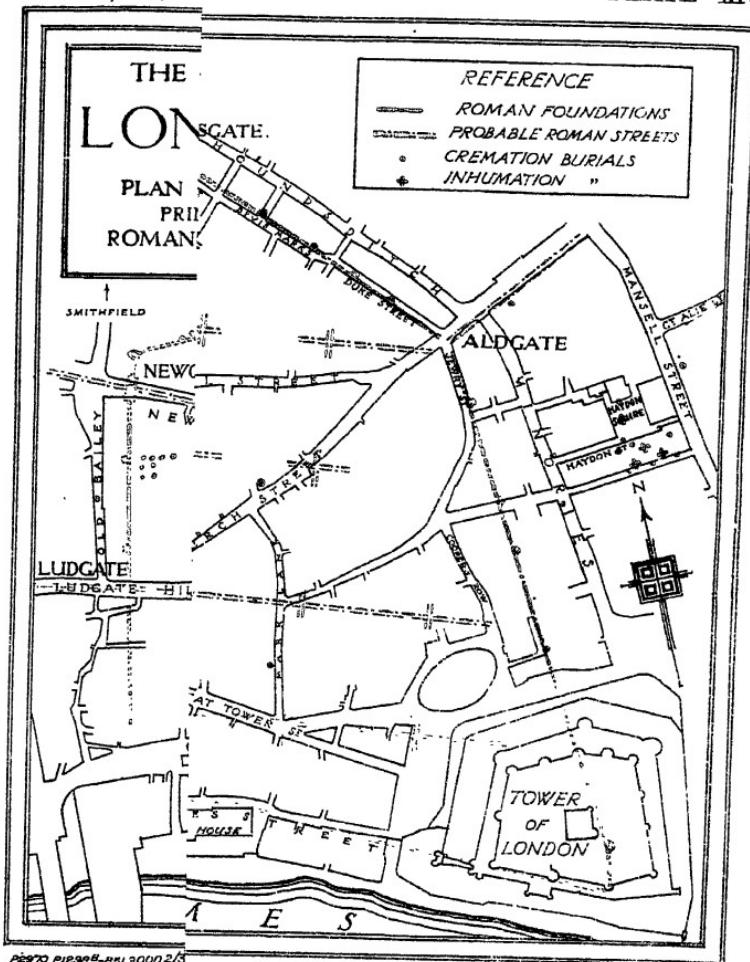
5. THE NEW CITY

Like the Great Fire of sixteen centuries later, the fire of the year 61 may, in the long run, have brought more good than ill to the city which it destroyed. The commercial status of Londinium was now firmly established, and it is fair to suppose that its re-building was undertaken on a lavish and ambitious scale. In the ashes lay a London which, in the first years of the Roman occupation, may be thought to have grown up somewhat tentatively and incoherently. But in the year 61, as the established port of Britain and the centre of that great Roman road-system which still spreads as the fingers of a hand from London Bridge, it must already have taken a dominant place in the life of the province and in the interests of the provincial government. It is safe to assume that the rebuilt city was planned comprehensively on the rigid chess-board system which the Roman town-planners affected (see Pl. III), and that its public buildings—its basilica or town-hall, its custom-house and its temples, as multitudinous as the churches of the medieval city—now arose on a monumental scale. And not least, there is reason to suppose that the survivors of that unwalled town, which Suetonius found himself unable to save, set about the building of those massive walls which have left their imprint upon the plan of the modern city and still yield stubbornly to the twentieth-century builder.

It is not within the province of a museum catalogue to discuss, in detail, the scattered structural remains of this London. At the best, such relics of the kind as find their way into a museum inevitably lose a great part of their interest when torn from their context. A few fragments of pavements

To face p. 22.

PLATE III.



P2970, P12988-85/3000, 2/3

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and masonry described below (p. 37) are just sufficient to suggest that the buildings of Londinium were often adorned with elaborate, if indifferent, carving, and that their floors were frequently enlivened with intricate and brightly coloured patterns which must have brought an element of southern gaiety into our northern fogs. In order to provide a pictorial setting for these fragments the room which contains them includes also a reconstruction of the Roman city at its prime (see Pl. IV). To this a few words of description may be added.

In the foreground lies Southwark, the southern bridge-head settlement, which seems to have covered an area of about 15 acres and to have merged into the straggling cemeteries which flanked the roads to Canterbury and Chichester. Little is known of the buildings of this settlement; but it may be assumed that, as shown in the illustration, a Roman predecessor of the medieval Tabard Inn somewhere offered hospitality at the bridge-gate. The bridge itself is of timber, as it seems to have been in Saxon times when Olaf and his Norsemen harnessed their ships to the upright posts and pulled the structure, with its defenders, into the tide. True, the Romans were well able to build bridges wholly or partly of stone, and the remains of such bridges can still be seen in the north of England; but, in a rough tidal river like the Thames, they may have preferred timber which is more resilient than stone and more easily repaired if damaged.

At the northern end of the bridge stands the bridge-gate of the city. No relic of this has come to light, and much of the course of the river-wall is uncertain. This wall was still in part standing at Queenhithe in 899, but by the twelfth century "the fishfull river of Thames with his ebbing and flowing" had "long since subverted" it. A similar fate may already, in Roman times, have befallen the wall as first constructed; for the foundations of the western stretch of it, discovered a century ago in Upper Thames Street, included quantities of re-used masonry such as does not occur anywhere else in the main structure of the wall.

The illustration shows less clearly than the plan (Pl. III) the general course of the town-wall—a course three miles in length and enclosing an area of 330 acres. For the most part,

the line of the wall was determined by the tactical desirability of enclosing the two hills over which the city had now almost completely spread. Outside the wall was a ditch or ditches, and behind it may have been an earthen bank such as still exists in part behind the similar and probably contemporary wall at Colchester. Later, probably at the end of the third or during the fourth century, when the development of the heavy catapults, which formed the artillery of the period, necessitated the provision of sturdier and more ample platforms, projecting towers were added at intervals around the

ROMAN BASILICA AND FORUM

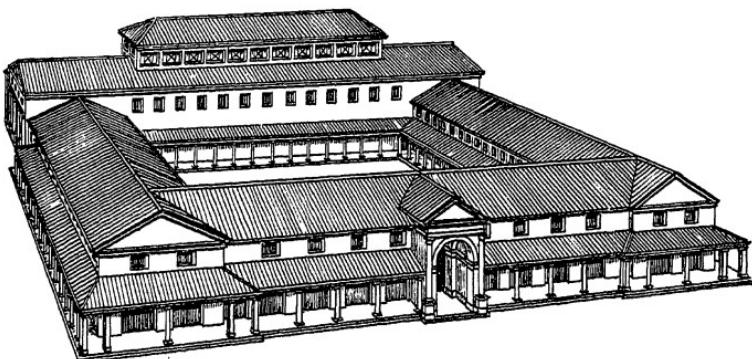


FIG. 1.—Reconstruction of a Roman basilica and forum.
enceinte. These, too, are shown in the “reconstruction” (Pl. IV).

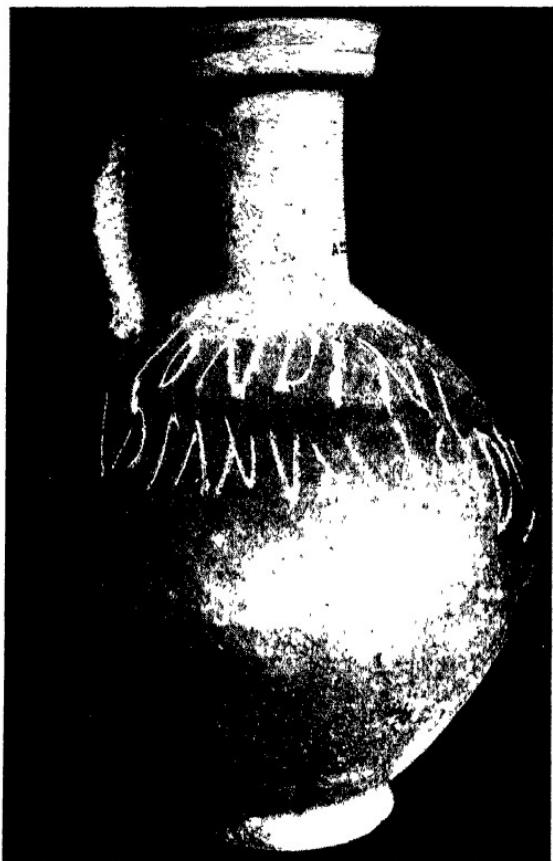
Within the walls but few of the streets and buildings are known with any accuracy. Such streets as are recorded or inferred are shown on the plan (Pl. III). Of buildings, only one, and that perhaps the most important, has left substantial traces. This is shown as crowning the hill above the northern bridge-head where Leadenhall Market and St. Peter’s Church, Cornhill, now stand; it consists of a long hall (known to have been more than 420 feet in length) which can only have been the basilica or principal public building in the city. This building served many of the purposes of town-hall, law-courts and royal exchange, and must have been one of the



Reconstruction of Roman London, from the south-east. (See p. 23.)

From a drawing by A. Forestier.

PLATE V.



Jug from Southwark, bearing the inscription LONDINI AD FANVM ISIDIS,
“At the shrine of Isis in London.” Height 10 ins. (See pp. 25, 51.)

great commercial centres of the Roman provinces, as it was certainly one of the largest provincial structures of the kind (compare Fig. 1). Elsewhere about the city were bath-buildings (such as that which still partly survives under the Coal Exchange in Lower Thames Street), and the temples and shrines which are suggested by some of the relics in the Museum. Thus, the carved relief showing the Persian god Mithras slaying the sacred bull (Pl. XVII) was dedicated by a retired soldier from the Second Legion at Caerleon presumably in some Mithraic shrine in or close to the city. Or, again, the jug bearing the inscription *Londini ad fanum Isidis*—“At

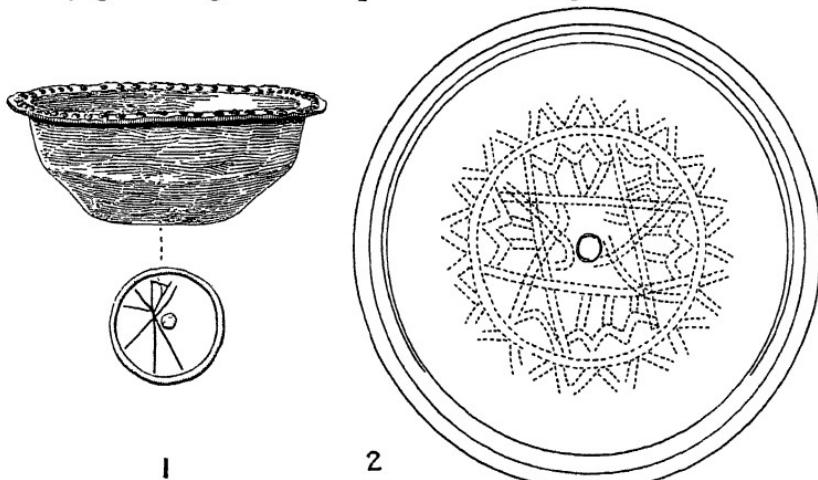


FIG. 2.—1, Pewter bowl bearing, apparently, an incised Chi-Rho on the underside of the base ; from Copthall Court. 2, The design incised on the upper-side of the base of the pewter plate illustrated in Pl. LIb. ½. (See pp. 25, 119, 120.)

London, at the shrine of Isis”—indicate a former shrine of this Egyptian deity probably in Southwark where the jug was found (Pl. VI). The jug has an additional interest as bearing the name of London written by the hand of a Roman Londoner. An altar (Pl. XVII) bears a crude representation of the god Mercury ; and the august marble deity of sea or river (Pl. XV) may have stood at one time in a London temple. Christianity in Roman London is better known to us from the literary than from the archaeological record, but a smaller pewter bowl (Fig. 2) bears on its base what appears to be the monogram of Christ,

Outside the city there seem to have been few Roman buildings of stone or brick. The roads which radiated from the six or seven gates are shown in the illustration as lined with tombs, of which numerous remains are preserved in the Museum (p. 40). Slightly beyond the margin of the “reconstruction,” as far west as St. Martin’s in the Fields and the Regent Street quadrant, occasional burials are discovered (p. 43), and a Roman building or two may have stood upon the island whereon the Saxon monks later built the Abbey of Westminster.

6. THE LATTER DAYS OF LONDINIUM

From this, the latest representation of Roman London, we may turn for contrast to the earliest. In 1922 a treasure of jewellery, gold medallions and coins was found at Beaurains, near Arras in France, and amongst the medallions was one (of which an electrotype may be seen in the Museum—see Pl. VI) commemorating an incident in the later history of Roman London. This incident occurred in the year 296, and was in point of time the next recorded event in the history of London after the disaster of the year 61. In 286 Carausius, the commander of the Channel Fleet, had seized the reins of government in Britain and had assumed the title of Emperor. This local status had thereafter been reluctantly recognized by the authorities at Rome, but when, in 293, the usurper (who had at least ruled with a firm hand) was murdered by an ambitious lieutenant, Allectus, the central government decided to take action. Accordingly, in 296 a fleet sailed from Boulogne in two divisions under the control of the future emperor Constantius and a general named Asclepiodotus. Fog dispersed the fleet. The division under Asclepiodotus eventually made the southern coast; the mercenaries of Allectus were routed and Allectus himself fell. The fugitives fled to London and were beginning to sack the city, when Constantius and his ships, which had in the meantime found their way to the Thames estuary, arrived on the scene. The Roman troops landed and cut down the pillagers in the streets, inducing in the citizens, as the fulsome contemporary record goes, “a sentiment of gratitude and pleasure at the sight.”



Gold medallion found near Arras, France, and now in the Arras Museum. It was struck in or soon after 296 A.D. to commemorate the relief of London in that year by Constantius Caesar, whose bust is seen on the obverse. On the reverse, the foreground is occupied by one of the Caesar's galleys on the Thames, whilst in the background the Caesar himself rides to the rescue of the city, represented by fortifications and a kneeling figure identified by the letters LON(DINIVM). From an electrotype in the Museum. *i.*
(See p. 26.)

Hence this medallion. On the obverse it bears a portrait of Constantius himself; on the reverse, the foreground is occupied by the Thames with a Roman galley upon it, and on the adjacent shore the newly-arrived Constantius rides like a knight-errant to the rescue of Londinium, who kneels to greet him at a city-gate. Below the gate are the letters LON(DINIVM), and girdling the scene is the inscription REDDITOR LVCIS AETERNAE, "Restorer of the Light that shines for ever."

This historic medal is shown by the letters P.TR which it bears to have been minted not in London but in Trier—the great Roman city in north-eastern Gaul. Nevertheless, money had been coined in London since 286, when the usurper Carausius had opened a mint there; and it was perhaps either by reason of this mint's primary association with an unofficial regime, or because of its technical inability to produce medallions of so large a size, that the Gallic mint was chosen for the commemorative issue.

The London mint continued, however, to produce copper currency under Constantine the Great until about the year 326. Thereafter it seems to have lapsed until another usurper, this time a Spaniard of the name of Magnus Maximus, revived it between 383 and 388. On the death of Maximus in the latter year, the activity of the Roman mint of London seems finally to have come to an end (see below, p. 189).

It is probable that the London mint was not the only mint established in Britain during the latter part of the Roman occupation. But in London alone of British cities is there evidence for the existence of a Treasury Department during the Roman period. The *Notitia Dignitatum* or imperial record of the distribution of officials and armaments throughout the Empire—a record which, in its surviving form, seems to apply mainly, so far as Britain is concerned, to the fourth century—ascribes to London an "official in charge of the Treasury"; and, on general grounds, as the main port and commercial centre of Britain, London would be the natural home for the headquarters of the financial administration of the island.

That London, during the last century of Roman rule, was something more than a financial headquarters is suggested by the fragmentary written records which have survived. Some-time between the years 326 and 368 she received the high-sounding epithet "Augusta," evidently as a signal mark of imperial favour for services rendered but not now recorded. And on more than one occasion during the same period the city became the centre of momentous events. In the year 360 serious incursions by the Picts and Scots induced the emperor Constans to send reinforcements to Britain under a general named Lupicinus, who landed at Richborough, "whence he proceeded to London that he might deliberate upon the aspect of affairs and take immediate measures for his campaign." His intervention did not, however, deter the Picts and Scots from still more devastating outbreaks seven years later, and, on this occasion, their devastations were supplemented by a simultaneous attack upon our southern coasts by German pirates. For the moment, the whole countryside was overrun by bands of marauders. The Emperor Valentinian sent officer after officer to report, and finally despatched his famous general Theodosius with strong reinforcements. Like Lupicinus, Theodosius landed at Richborough and hurried to London, which was by that time known as Augusta. "Joyful and triumphant," says the contemporary historian, "he made his entry into the city, which had just before been overwhelmed by disasters but was now suddenly re-established before it could have hoped for deliverance." Thereafter, Theodosius "entirely restored the cities and fortresses," and it may be that some of the towers, which in late Roman times were added to the city-wall, were erected in this crisis.

With the arrival of Theodosius in 368 our written history of Roman London comes to an end and we have to read its fate between the lines of the general history of the province. When, in the year 410, Alaric and his Goths were surging up to the gates of Rome, the emperor Honorius found it no longer possible to maintain direct control over his distant possession. To "the cities in Britain" he addressed a message of despair, bidding them take measures for their own safety. It cannot be doubted that it was his intention

to resume control when the immediate danger of the capital had passed.

But this was not to be. Britain remained in spirit a part of the Empire ; its harassed citizens more than once appealed to Rome for help against the invading Picts and Saxons. They appealed in vain. The “groans of the Britons” were scarcely heard among the nearer tumults which now afflicted the Imperial capital. As late as the year 428, the province was still included formally as a part of the Empire in official documents at Rome, but the province itself was already struggling unaided between the scissor-blades of simultaneous attack from the barbarian plunderers of the north and the determined Teutonic immigrants of the east and south. When she emerged once more from the ordeal, Britain was no longer, in any significant sense, Roman ; and although London retained at any rate something of its Roman form, its fate during this period of upheaval is a difficult problem which lies outside the scope of this catalogue.

7. THE STATUS OF LONDINIUM

A word may be added upon a question which naturally presents itself to the modern Londoner, accustomed to regard his city as first and foremost a great metropolis. Was Londinium the capital of Roman Britain ? The answer to this question is complicated by the fact that, in spite of a superficial similarity, the circumstances and values of the modern world are not in detail comparable with those of the Roman Empire. One point, however, is beyond dispute : London was one of the great trading cities of the Roman Empire and was, unquestionably, the centre of the commercial life of Britain. As such it became appropriately, as we have seen, the principal seat of the financial administration and was the natural halting-place for Imperial emissaries who desired to “deliberate upon the aspect of affairs.” This implies that at least in the fourth century London, fed by all the principal arterial roads of the country, was the main nerve-centre of the province and that the chief government departments must, at least, have been fully represented there.

But the problem is more difficult than these facts would seem to indicate. At the time of the Roman invasion of the year 43, Colchester was the headquarters of the native dynasty, and it was at Colchester that the Roman authorities instinctively established the insignia of a provincial capital—chief amongst them the temple dedicated to the worship of the emperor. The failure of Colchester at the time of Boudicca's rebellion in the year 61, combined with the lightning growth of Londinium within the two preceding decades, may have diverted the administration from Colchester to the far more convenient site of London. Nevertheless, though this is probable, it is supported by only one fragment of tangible evidence. Long ago, in Nicholas Lane in the city, was found a part of a large Roman inscription re-used in the foundations of a wall which may also have been of Roman date. This fragment (now lost) was evidently part of a dedication by the Province of Britain to the Divinity of the Emperor. The implication is that, when the inscription was originally set up, the main Provincial centre of emperor-worship had been transferred to London and that London was, therefore, in name as well as in fact, the leading city of the province.

If, however, in the latter part of the first and during the second century, the status of Londinium may have approached very nearly to that of the modern capital of England, two events must subsequently have disturbed its dominance, at any rate in matters of local government. In the year 197, in order to reduce the dangers of a unified military command in the province, the emperor Septimius Severus split Britain into two parts, and a further subdivision, into four parts, was carried out a century later after the recovery of Britain by Constantius from the usurping emperors. London may still have remained a focus for the local civil administrations implied by this process of sub-division. But the problem is further involved by the fact that, under the later Empire, York, as the permanent military base of the harassed northern frontier, must generally have contained the military headquarters of the island, and must to that extent have detracted from the status of London as the "compleate metropolis." Two centuries after the rescript of Honorius, when Pope Gregory in the year 600 instructed his missionary Augustine to establish his first

archiepiscopal see in the city, London still dominated the Roman memory of Britain. But it is safer to suppose that this predominance rested rather upon the wealth, size and geographical convenience of the Roman city than upon any very close resemblance between its political status and that of the later medieval and modern metropolis.

8. THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF LONDINIUM

It is naturally less with these high matters of state than with the ordinary everyday life of Londinium that the objects

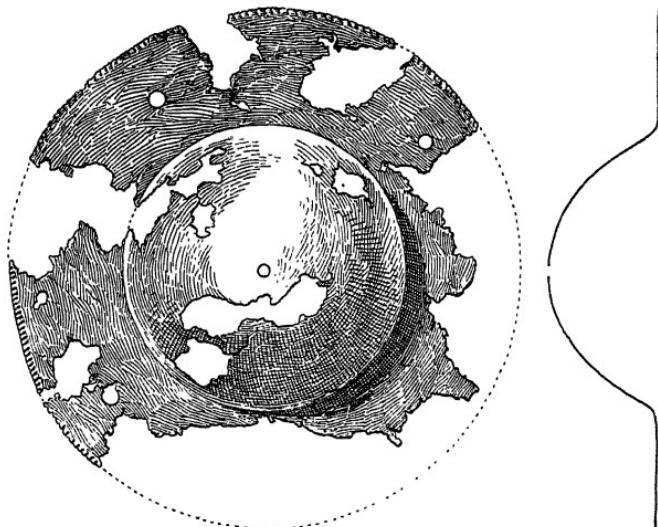


FIG. 3.—Bronze shield-boss from Copthall Court. $\frac{1}{3}$. (See p. 31.)

included in the following catalogue have to do. Even so, they have a cumulative historical value, and a preliminary glance at certain of their salient characteristics may be of interest.

In the first place, an older generation of antiquaries, prone to regard Roman Britain as a stage for the perennial marchings and countermarchings of legions, might have been surprised at the scarcity of military remains. In the whole collection only two relics—shield-bosses from Copthall Court (Fig. 3) and London Wall—can with certainty be regarded as military equipment. A discharged soldier might spend his latter days

in London and might dedicate a carving to Mithras (Pl. XVII); soldiers from the frontier-stations might die there in retirement or whilst passing through on leave or duty (Pl. XXII B, XXIII A). But, apart from the semi-military police and the train-band which, like most large Roman cities, London must have maintained to man her walls in case of emergency, the city in normal times saw little of the soldiery of the province. The legions and their auxiliaries lay far away, immured in their permanent fortresses and cantonments along the frontiers.

Of overseas trade, the catalogue has much to tell. The large two-handled jars or amphorae, which brought wine and oil from Gaul and the Mediterranean, are found in unnumbered quantities by diggers in the soil of London (Pl. LV). The red-glazed pottery of Gaul and Germany is found in greater abundance in the unwatched excavations of London than on any other Romano-British site (p. 122). For domestic worship or merely "for luck," many small pipe-clay figurines of deities were trafficked to London from the same regions (Pl. XXI); whilst occasionally a cult-statue of greater magnificence was brought from Italy itself (Pl. XV). From Italy, too, came metal jugs, candelabra and other fittings, of types well known to visitors to Naples and Pompeii (Fig. 12, frontispiece, and Pl. LII). At the same time Gaul and, still more, the Rhineland contributed their quota of brooches, glass and even the commoner sorts of pottery (pp. 88, 120, 140).

But amidst this flood of imports, the achievements of the native industries were not negligible. Towards the end of the first century our craftsmen began to acquire the Roman knack of mass-production and so were better able themselves to meet the ordinary needs of the home market. There were probably glass-workers on the site of Clement's Lane. Kilns were built at St. Paul's. Crude lumps of green enamel at Nicholas Lane suggest that this art, in which the British and the Belgians alike excelled, was practised in Londinium. A crucible and various fragments of copper-ore (Pl. VII A) indicate metal-working. Elsewhere in Britain, the freestone of the Bath district (p. 37), the shale of Dorset (p. 109), the jet of Yorkshire (pp. 100, 102), and the pottery-kilns of the Northamp-



A. Evidences of bronze-working in Roman London : 1, Bronze-worker's crucible from St. Helen's Place ; 2, Molten copper from Crosby Square. 3, Copper ore, from Crosby Square. 1. (See p. 32.)



B. Brick from Lombard Street, bearing the imprint of a Roman boot.
Scale of inches. (See pp. 39, 105.)

PLATE VIII.



Part of the wattle floor of a Romano-British hut on the foreshore of the Thames at Brentford. From *Antiquity* III, 20. (See p. 35.)

tonshire Nene and the New Forest (p. 146), were all helping to fulfil the needs of the Romanized Londoners. And, again within Londinium itself, abundant relics of various trades, such as shoe-making (p. 105), combine to produce a picture of a city that was not only a great market but a busy centre of many crafts and occupations.

In certain cases we may go further and may discover something of the influences under which, or from which, our native crafts re-emerged. At the time of the Roman conquest, south-eastern Britain had lately come under the dominance of immigrant tribes from Belgic Gaul. The technique of the Belgic craftsmen, particularly the potters, was, on the whole, superior to that which had prevailed here before their arrival. But it had not, before the Roman conquest, sufficiently naturalized itself to meet unaided the wholesale demands of the new régime. The real importance of the pre-Claudian immigrations from Belgic Gaul was that they established a definite line of intercourse between the Continent and south-eastern Britain ; and, when the invaders created here an unprecedented demand for industrial products, it was primarily along that line that reserves were brought up and the deficiencies of the home market supplied. Hence the great pot-stores along the Thames and Medway flats ; stores which owe a little to the native craftsman, but more to the potters of Belgium and the lower Rhine valley. It would indeed be a pardonable exaggeration to say that the Belgic "*invasion*" *par excellence* was not that of 50 B.C., but rather that of 50 A.D.

So also in metal-work, notably in brooches. For the first twenty years after the Claudian conquest, Rhenish types were dominant in Britain (p. 88).

In the last quarter of the first century a change became visible. With the settlement and development of central and southern Britain after A.D. 75 the native craftsman began to assimilate these new influences and circumstances. Brooches of distinctly British types now emerged and Continental types became markedly less frequent. Exotic forms of pottery largely vanished (save, of course, for the glazed wares *de luxe*) and a new or renewed "Celtic" influence became manifest.

There was even a reaction upon the Continent. British potters and masons were employed in the Low Countries and in Gaul ; and British brooches—even a solitary “Celtic” mirror of about 100 A.D., and obviously of British manufacture—found their way to Belgium, Holland and the Rhineland. It may be that the small animal-brooches found in duplicate near Mainz and in London (Fig. 4) were made in Britain, although a claim might be urged on behalf of the enamel-workers of Belgica (p. 98). Here, as often, in spite of the resurging individuality of the British craftsman, it is difficult to draw a frontier-line in Roman times between the cultures of southern Britain and north-eastern Gaul.

9. THE ENVIRONS OF LONDINIUM

Prior to the arrival of the legions, the native population of Britain had subsisted to a great extent by agriculture, which it had practised on the open chalk downs and on the thinly vegetated strips of gravel beside the rivers. Its total numbers had been small—probably less than two million all told. Amidst this rural population the Roman régime sought to naturalize something of the urban system of the classical world. On the whole it failed. Certain of the new Roman cities, notably London, flourished at least for a time, as we have seen, under the somewhat artificial and transient prosperity which attended the immediate influx of foreign officials, traders and prospectors. But throughout this great experiment in “urbanization,” the bulk of the British peasantry continued to subsist after the fashion of their fore-fathers, living in their kraals or hut-villages under conditions which were modified but little save by the general substitution of Roman mass-produced pottery and knick-knacks for much of their own homely craftsmanship. Here and there, as in the New Forest or in the fen-regions round the Wash, where good pot-clay and abundant fuel were obtainable, the Roman markets offered a new opportunity for the native craftsman, and so supplemented the universal agriculture with something approaching a local industrialism. But if we except the development of the mining areas, which

are a different problem, we may suppose that the daily life of the Romano-British countryside differed in little more than detail from that of the preceding period.

And thus it is that in the environs of so elaborately Romanized a city as Londinium are found traces of primitive wattle huts or log-cabins in which the native cotters continued to live under conditions which were essentially prehistoric in character. At Tilbury, on what is now the northern foreshore of the Thames but must then, of course, have been high and dry above the tide, are the remains of three or four circular huts of woven wattle, in some cases with traces of clay-ovens and plank-flooring within them (see the Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England, on *S.E. Essex*, p. 38). In and around these huts are fragments of Roman pottery, mostly of the first and second centuries A.D., much of it showing clear evidence of native or Belgic craftsmanship (see below, p. 147). Again, above London,

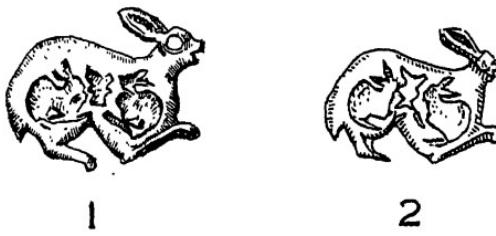
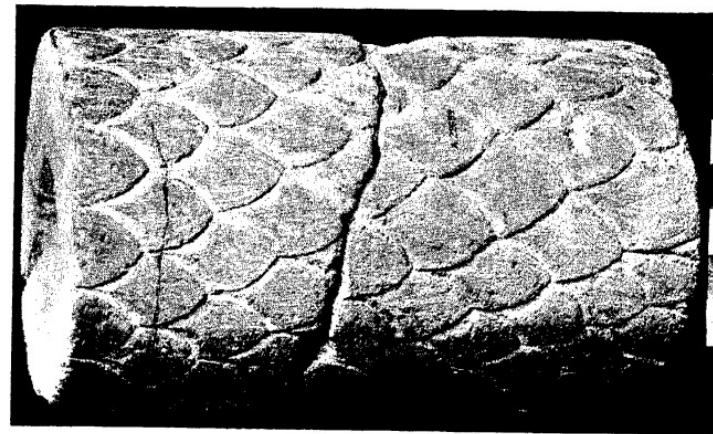


FIG. 4.—1, enamelled bronze brooch from Kleinwinterheim, near Mainz, Germany; 2, similar brooch from London Wall. $\frac{1}{2}$. (See pp. 34, 98.)

on the northern foreshore of the Thames at Brentford—once more below the present high-tide level—have been found the remains of rectangular huts with wattle floors similar to those of the prehistoric lake-village at Glastonbury (Pl. VIII). In association with the flooring were found Roman tiles and pottery of the second century A.D., now preserved in the Museum (see *Antiquity*, III, 20). It is only under exceptionally favourable circumstances that fragile structures such as these are preserved to the present day, but it is safe to suppose that native hut-villages of the kind were a normal feature of the environs of Londinium.



A. Fragment of decorated stone column from Blomfield Street.
Scale of inches. (See p. 38.)



B. Fragment of decorated stone column
from King William Street. *Scale of
inches.* (See p. 38.)

CATALOGUE

i. STRUCTURAL REMAINS

The absence of a suitable building-stone from the neighbourhood of London has encouraged post-Roman builders to scavenge and re-use any Roman ashlar upon which they could lay their hands. Except, therefore, when the Romans themselves re-used some of their own earlier carved stonework in the foundations of their bastions and so ensured its preservation until the final uprooting of the city-defences in modern times, carved freestone of the Roman period has rarely been found in London. Three fragments in the Museum represent a well-carved Corinthian capital from the centre of the City and enriched column-shafts from two sites east of the Walbrook. The oolite of which these fragments are made is ascribed by Dr. H. H. Thomas to the district between Wincanton and Bath—a point of some interest in determining the general direction of Roman industrial activity in southern Britain.

Somewhat more extensive remains survive of the mosaics and paintings with which the floors and walls of many of the buildings were ornamented. Most of the more elaborate mosaics which have been preserved are now to be seen in the British and Guildhall Museums, but the fragments in the London Museum all have a special interest. One fragment had formed a part of a figure-subject. Another group, representing a plain tessellated pavement, comes from Leadenhall Market and therefore almost certainly represents a part of the floor of the principal Roman basilica or town-hall (see above, p. 24). Other fragments, from the junction of Clement's Lane and King William Street, illustrate the extent

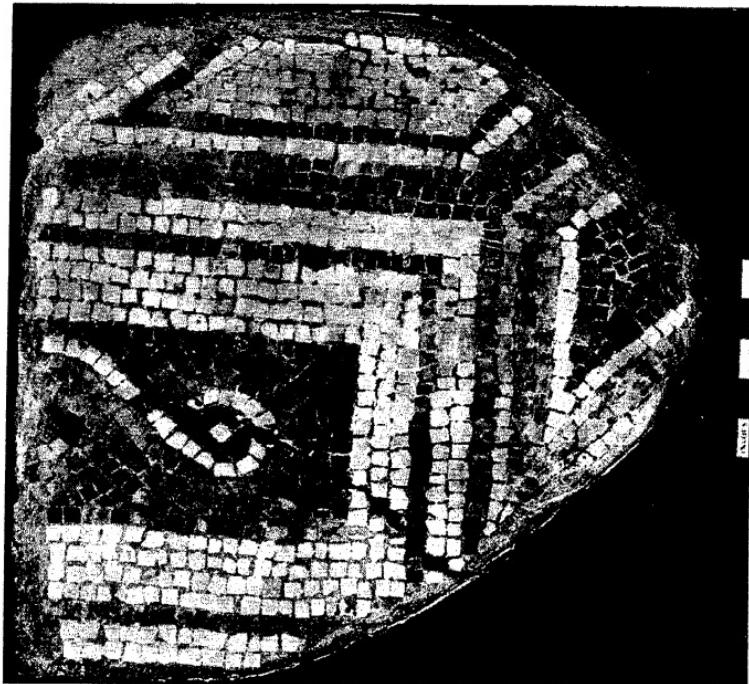
to which the ground level in the city sometimes rose during the Roman period. On this site, at the lowest level, was an accumulation of debris containing pottery made about the middle of the first century A.D. Immediately above this debris, and sealing it, was a mosaic pavement with a pattern in small coloured tesserae. Adjoining this lay one of the decorated column-shafts already referred to. If, as it is tempting to suggest, the layer of early debris represents the city destroyed by Boudicca in A.D. 61, then it is possible that the pavement sealing it formed a part of the new city which arose upon the ashes of the old. Be that as it may, whether by accident or design, a thick layer of soil and debris, no less than 9 ft. in depth, subsequently accumulated over the mosaic; and above this great accumulation a second pavement of coarse brick tesserae was laid in later but still Roman times. Thereafter, above this, only a further 8 ft. of accumulation lay below the modern street-level.

Of decorated wall-plaster from buildings in Roman London, innumerable fragments are found during excavations. For the most part these fragments show that the walls of the average Roman room were covered with simple painted panels in somewhat garish colours amongst which black, white, red and yellow predominated. Occasionally, however, these simple designs were variegated with more elaborate plant or figure subjects, and, amongst the fragments preserved in the Museum, one (Pl. XI) represents part of a bush or tree painted with considerable skill. This fragment has an additional interest in that, like one of the pavements referred to above, it comes from the site of the Roman basilica. Its unusual excellence is thus explained by its probable association with one of the principal buildings of Roman Britain.

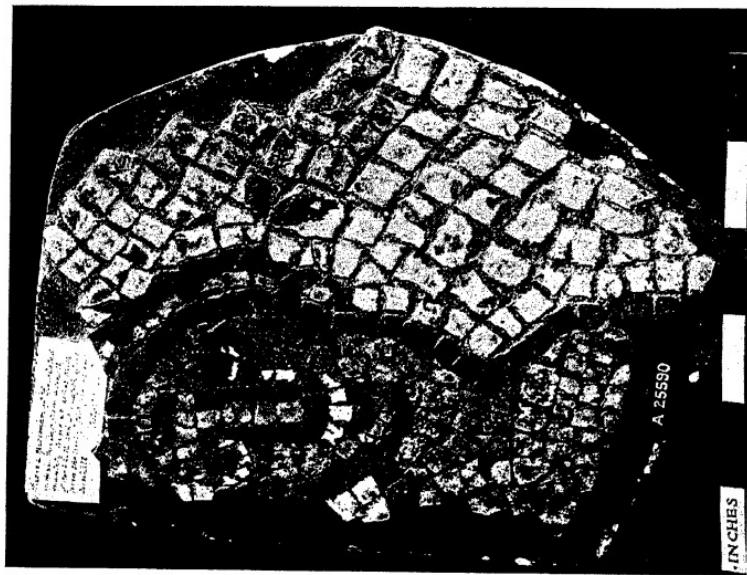
(i) MASONRY AND BRICKWORK

Pl. IXA (A 27840). Fragment of a column, original diameter about 17 ins., of oolitic limestone, ornamented with a trellis pattern interspersed with flowers, leaves, baskets, etc. Found in Blomfield Street, at the N. corner of New Broad Street.

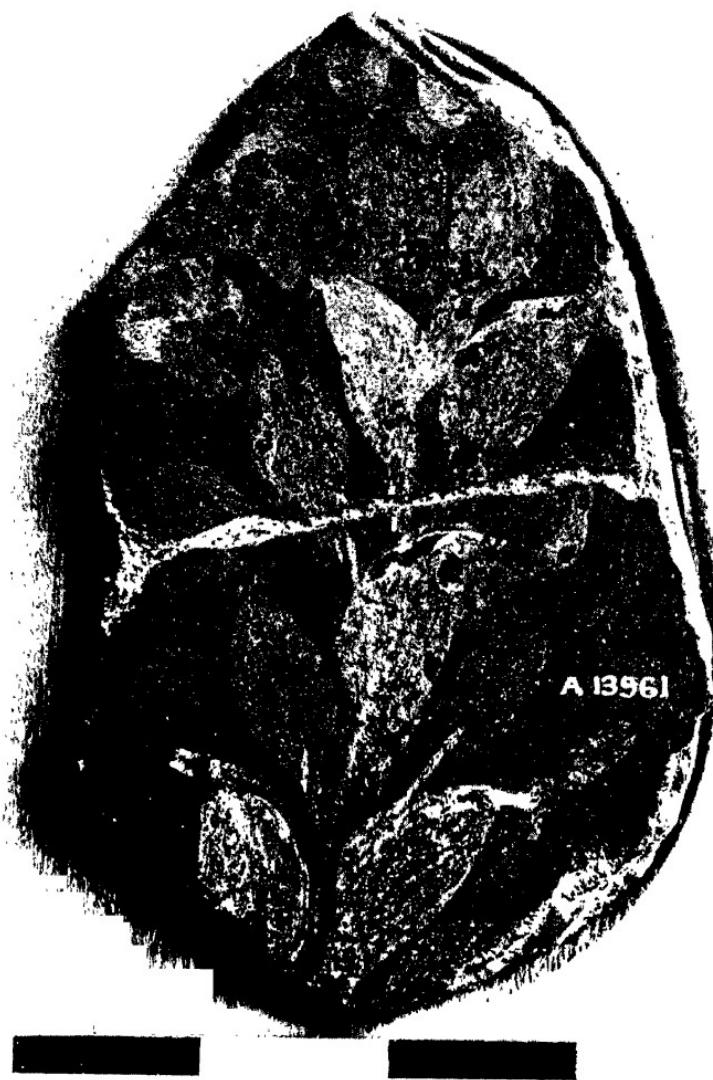
Pl. IXB (A 22699). Fragment of a column-shaft, diameter 9 ins., of a coarse oolitic stone, ornamented with scale pattern. Found at a depth of about 17 ft. in King William Street, adjoining the mosaic pavement A 22601/b-e (below).



B. Fragment of mosaic from Foster Lane. (See p. 39.)



A. Fragment of mosaic from Cornhill. (See p. 39.)



Painted wall-plaster, probably from the principal basilica of Londinium.
Scale of inches. (See pp. 38, 39.)

Part of the scroll of a Corinthian capital (A 28246) in limestone, found on the site of the Bank of England, is also in the Museum.

Pl. VII (A 28186). Red brick, $18\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 12 ins. by 2 ins., bearing the imprint of a Roman boot, impressed before the brick was baked. Found in Lombard Street.

(ii) FLOORS

Pl. XA (A 25590). Fragment of mosaic pavement, found at a depth of 14 ft., on the northern side of Cornhill, 1844. The design in white, black, grey, red and yellow tesserae represents a female head and shoulder.

Pl. XB (A 29.196). Fragment of the border of a mosaic pavement from Foster Lane. Design: bands of guilloche and of rhomboidal forms in white, red, yellow, light blue and black. Given by Canon Gilbertson.

The Museum also contains the following:—

(A 13954-9). Fragments of a mosaic pavement with guilloche border in black, white, yellow and red tesserae, and an outer border of coarse red tesserae; found under Leadenhall Market, *i.e.* on the site of the Roman basilica.

(A 22601/a). Fragment of plain tessellated pavement made of red and yellow tesserae, each about 1 in. square. Found at a depth of 8 ft. in the roadway at the corner of Clement's Lane and King William Street, opposite the church. The pavement represented by this fragment was upwards of 8 ft. by 6 ft. and appeared to run through beneath the present road.

(A 22601/b-e). Four fragments of mosaic including parts of a guilloche border in black, white, yellow and red tesserae. Found on the same site as, but 9 ft. below, the preceding. Beneath this deeper pavement again was found a rubbish pit containing a Samian bowl, form 29, with the stamp of the potter Felix, and an early Romano-Celtic cordon vase. These two vessels were made probably within a decade of A.D. 60.

(iii) WALL-PAINTINGS

Pl. XI (A 13961). Fragment of painted wall-plaster with leaf design in red, brown, green and yellow. Found on the site of Leadenhall Market, *i.e.* on the site of the Roman basilica.

The Museum also contains fragments of wall-plaster (A 16603-28), painted with foliage and panel-designs, from the site of the General Post Office.

(iv) WATER-PIPE

Fig. XII (28.140). Part of a Roman drain or conduit found on the site of the Bank of England and given by the Governors of the Bank. The drain consists of lengths of squared oak, $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins., with a central circular piercing about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter. Water-tight junctions between the lengths of timber are effected by means of iron collars, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter, which are driven to a depth of $\frac{1}{2}-\frac{3}{4}$ in. into the adjacent timbers in such a way as to enclose the central channel. The use of oak for water-pipes is noteworthy in contrast to the medieval and later practice of using elm for this purpose.

2. ROMAN BURIALS

From early times it was the Roman custom to bury the dead outside the area of settlement. The Twelve Tables decreed that it was "unlawful to bury or burn the dead within the city," and in later laws the same injunction recurs more than once : "It is forbidden to bring the dead within the limits of a town, or to bury or cremate there, or to set up a funeral monument." Similarly, Antoninus Pius is recorded in the Augustan History to have "forbidden the burying of the dead within towns." The reiteration of this law implies that it was not infrequently contravened, and there is ample evidence to this effect in Britain. Nevertheless, the distribution of the cemeteries round a Roman town may be taken as general evidence of the extent of the occupied area, and reference has already been made (p. 20) to the relation of the early London cemeteries to the first Roman London. The later Roman cemeteries fringe the walled area closely on all sides save for a part of Moorfields, which may have tended to become marshy soon after the building of the town-wall and the consequent ponding-back of the Walbrook. The cemeteries represented in the Museum are those which lay to the east of the city, in the former Goodman's Fields ; to the north in the Bishopsgate region ; to the west at the Old Bailey and across the Fleet, in Fleet Street ; and to the south, in Southwark. Farther afield, scattered burials come from Gray's Inn Road, Southampton Row, the Strand, the Regent Street Quadrant and Wandsworth. These outliers probably adjoined the western approaches to the city, whilst other burials from Southwark were a part of the cemetery which flanked the Canterbury road.

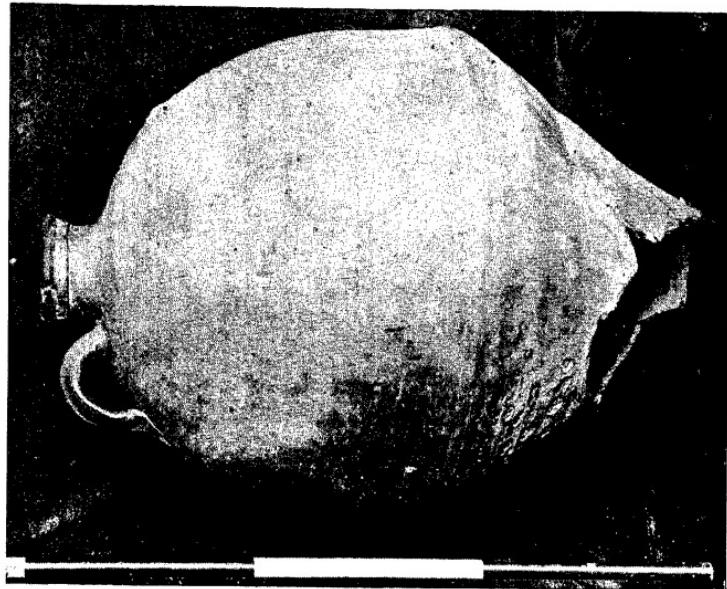
Four tombstones, described in the section on inscriptions (p. 49), are omitted from the present section since it cannot be affirmed that they were discovered *in situ*. It is likely enough, but unproven, that the tombstone (Pl. XXII B) found in the eighteenth century in Goodman's Fields (known to have been the site of an extensive Roman cemetery) was discovered on or near its grave.

Most of the burials here catalogued are illustrated in the

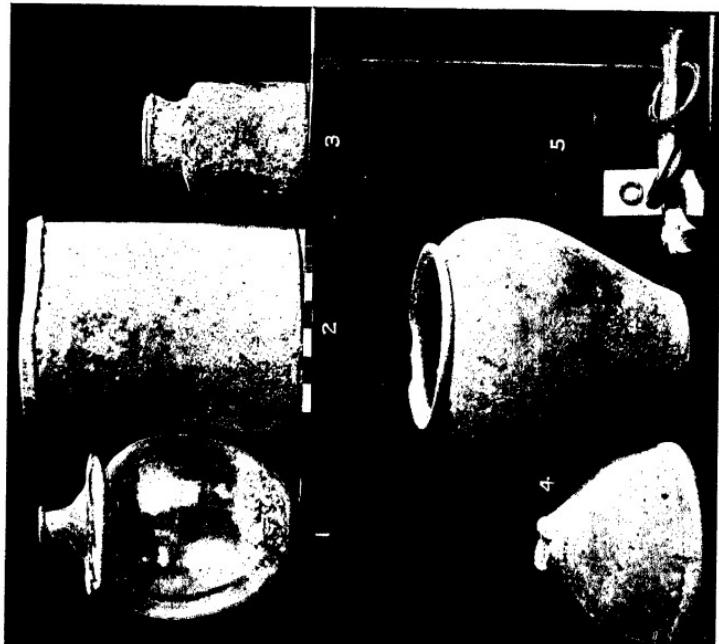


Fragments of oak water-pipe with iron collars, from the site of the Bank of England.

Scale of inches. (See p. 39.)



B. Amphora used for burial, from Mansell Street.
Scale of feet. (See pp. 41, 143.)



Roman burials : 1, from Southwark ; 2, from Mansell Street ;
3, from London Wall ; 4, from Regent Street ; 5, from South-
wark. *Scale of inches.* (See pp. 41, 43.)

Royal Commission's Report on *Roman London* (for which see above, p. 4).

(i) BURIALS FOUND WITHIN THE CITY WALLS

1. Pl. XIII A, 3 (A 2467). From London Wall. Cylindrical pewter jar, with lid, containing burnt bones.

2. Pl. XVII (A 18225). Small cist of Bath stone, 7 inches long, with fluted front and sides and blank inscription-plate. Found on the site of Winchester House, Old Broad Street, in 1864, but whether it actually contained ashes or not is unknown. Given by W. S. Ogden, Esq.

(ii) BURIALS FOUND OUTSIDE THE CITY WALLS

(a) *Goodman's Fields*.—The area formerly known by this name extends from the Minories to Church Lane, Whitechapel, and from Commercial Road to the river, and includes notably Mansell Street and Great and Little Alie Streets. It contained the great Roman cemetery which lay to the south of the Roman road issuing from Aldgate. The remains show that the cemetery was in use from the 1st to the 4th century A.D., although not more than two or three of the surviving urns are earlier than the 2nd century.

3. (29.120) Light grey urn containing burnt bones and covered by its original lid. About A.D. 45-75. Found in Mansell Street.

4. (29.163). Buff urn with reeded flange, containing burnt bones. About A.D. 70-100. Found on the site of Nos. 31-5, Minories. Given by Arthur Crow, Esq.

5. (A 28531/1). Grey urn with smooth lattice-pattern and containing burnt bones; found beneath a house in Aldgate nearly opposite Aldgate station of the Metropolitan Railway, 1902.

6. (A 20581-2). Inhumation burial, found in Mansell Street. At the head of the skeleton were found two small flanged cups of imitation Samian ware, one red and the other now black. Their form is that of Dragendorff 38, a Samian type usually of Hadrian-Antonine date; but imitations of this form lasted considerably later.

7. Pl. XIII A, 2 (A 20347). Cylindrical lead canister, with lid; it contains burnt bones. Found in Mansell Street.

8. Pl. LIII, 5 (A 20352-3). Small glass phial and urn containing burnt bones; found in Mansell Street. The phial has a quatrefoil lip. The urn is of grey ware and is ornamented with a band of smoothed lattice-pattern. It is probably of Antonine date.

9. (A 20579). Inhumation burial found in Mansell Street. At the head of the skeleton was a small beaker of Caistor ware, of buff clay with reddish-brown surface and a scroll design painted in thin white slip. It is probably of late 3rd- or 4th-century date.

10. Pl. XIII B (C 1042). Large amphora into the lower part of which a large

hole has been knocked. It was found in Mansell Street and is said to have contained a burial, but details are lacking.

11. Pl. XIV, 2 (A 11693-7). A group of four pots, two of which contain burnt bones, with a glass phial; found in 1913 at a depth of 15 ft. in Little Alie Street. Three of the pots were of grey ware; the fourth is a Samian cup of form 27. The whole group is probably of mid-1st-century date.

(b) *Bishopsgate*.—Large cemeteries adjoined the Roman road which issued from Bishopsgate. They were in use from the 1st probably to the 4th century A.D. Cremation burials, recorded by Dr. J. Woodward to have been found just within the lines of the Roman wall at Bishopsgate in 1707, but all those now extant seem to have come from without the wall.

12. (A 16131). Grey urn, with smoothed lattice pattern and containing burnt bones; found in Bishopsgate. Probably of Antonine date.

13. (A 20259). Urn of grey-buff ware, containing burnt bones; found in Bishopsgate. Probably of early 2nd-century date.

14. Pl. XIV, 1 (A 14398-14400). Burial group consisting of a Samian cup and three glass vessels; found in Bishopsgate in 1873. The large glass urn contains burnt bones and was sealed by means of the Samian cup, form 27, stamped BACCINI, i.e. Bacchus, a potter who worked in south or central Gaul between A.D. 60 and 90. The remaining members of the group were a glass phial and a square glass bottle of characteristic 1st or early 2nd-century type.

(c) *The Western Cemetery*.—This is mostly of early Roman date and is an extension of the Claudian cemetery found long ago between St. Martin's-le-Grand and the Old Bailey.

15. (A 13696). Grey urn, ornamented with shallow vertical grooves and sealed by a lid of buff ware; it contains burnt bones. Found on the north side of Ludgate Hill, near the corner of the viaduct, just outside the line of the city wall. Date, probably the middle or 3rd quarter of the 1st century A.D.

16. (A 28574). Grey urn, containing burnt bones, found in Shoe Lane, Fleet Street. Probably middle or 3rd quarter of the 1st century A.D. Given by the proprietors of the *Daily Express*.

17. (27.90/1). Grey urn with smooth lattice pattern found in Shoe Lane. It contains burnt bones. 3rd or early 4th century A.D. Given by the proprietors of the *Daily Express*.

18. (A 27.90/2). Grey urn containing burnt bones found in Shoe Lane. Probably mid-1st-century A.D. Given by the proprietors of the *Daily Express*.

19. (27.90/3). Grey urn, containing burnt bones; found in Shoe Lane. 1st century A.D. Given by the proprietors of the *Daily Express*.

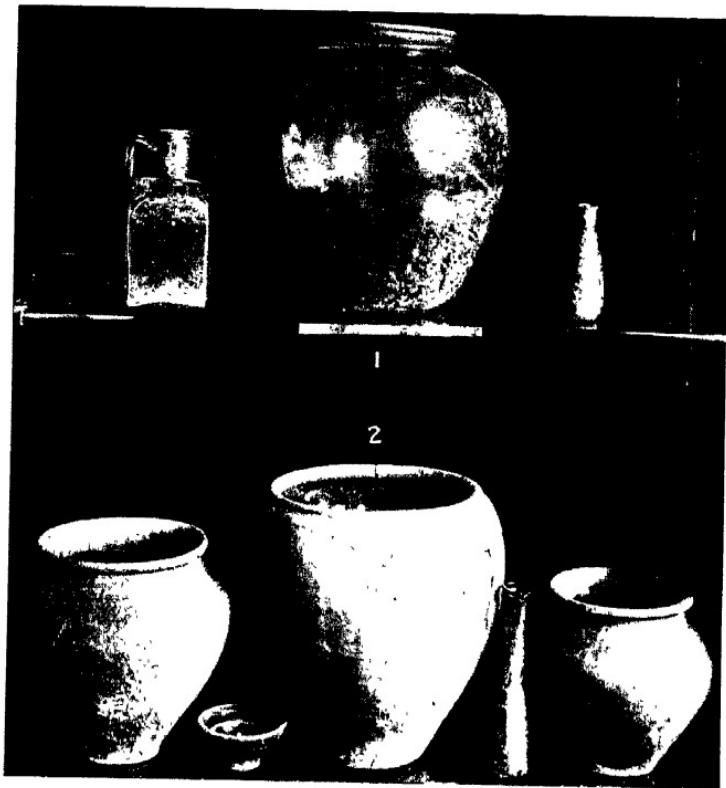
20. (27.90/5). Grey urn, containing burnt bones; found in Shoe Lane. 2nd century A.D. Given by the proprietors of the *Daily Express*.

21. (27.90/6). Light grey urn, containing burnt bones; found in Shoe Lane. Of Antonine or later date. Given by the proprietors of the *Daily Express*.

22. (27.90/7). Dark grey urn, ornamented with a band of smoothed lattice

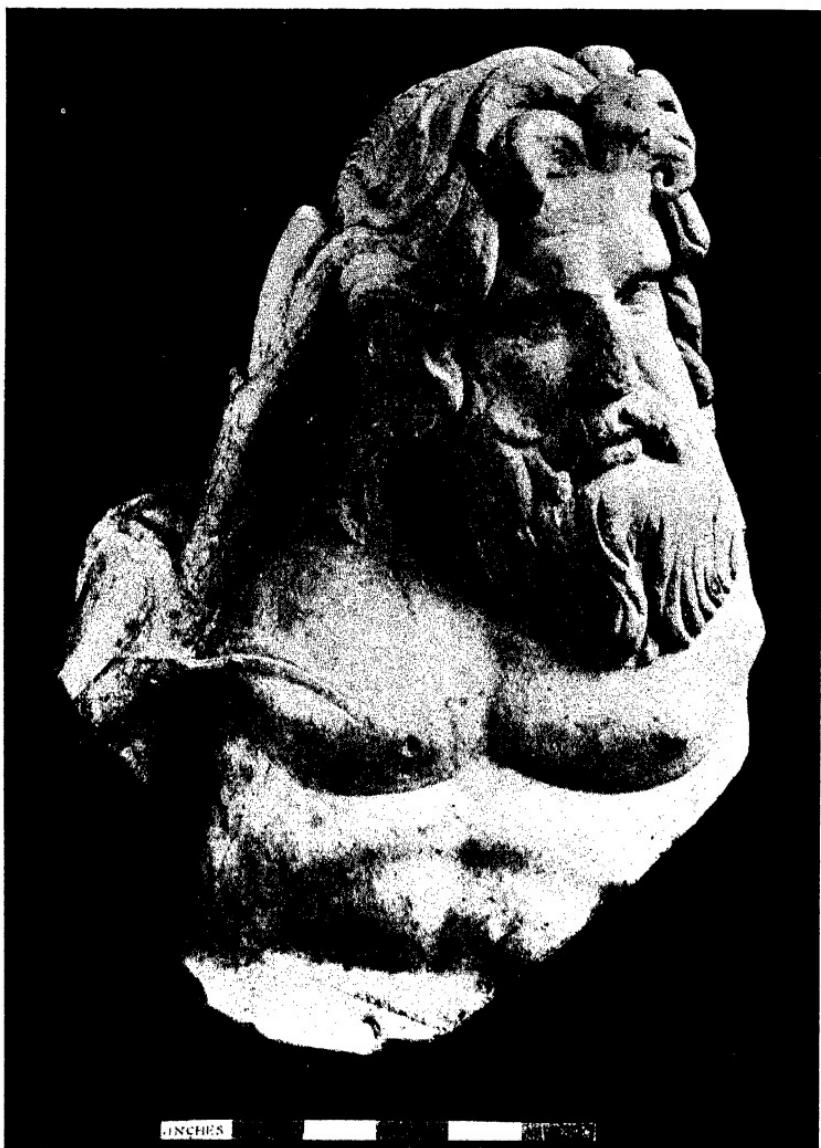
To face p. 42.]

PLATE XIV.



Roman burials : 1, from Bishopsgate Street ; 2, from Little Alie Street.
Scale of inches. (See p. 42.)

PLATE XV.



Marble river-god, from the Walbrook.

Scale of inches. (See p. 45.)

pattern, and containing burnt bones ; found in Shoe Lane. Probably late 3rd or 4th century. Given by the proprietors of the *Daily Express*.

23. (27.90/8). Light grey urn, with three smoothed horizontal bands and containing burnt bones ; found in Shoe Lane. Probably 1st century A.D. Given by the proprietors of the *Daily Express*.

(d) *Southwark*.—Extensive Roman cemeteries flanked the main roads which proceeded southwards and south-eastwards from the Southwark end of London Bridge.

24. (A 21411). Grey urn, containing burnt bones ; found in Tabard Street. Probably 2nd century A.D.

25. Pl. XIII A, 5 (A 11032-4) Inhumation burial, from which only a plain, double finger-ring of iron and two plain shale bracelets on the bones of a human fore-arm are preserved. Found in Trinity Street. It may here be noted that three other shale bracelets in the Museum are derived from inhumation burials in Southwark, the exact site not stated.

26. Pl. XIII A, 1 (A 16878). Glass urn with lid and containing burnt bones found in Southwark, exact site not stated (*ex Ransom Collection*).

(e) *More Remote Burials*.

27. (A 11700). Grey urn, with smoothed lattice pattern and containing burnt bones ; found in Gray's Inn Road. Probably 1st half of 2nd century A.D.

28. (A 11699). Biconical buff urn with reeded rim. It contains burnt bones ; found in Gray's Inn Road near the preceding example. 1st century A.D.

29. Grey urn, ornamented with "rustications" and containing burnt bones ; found in Southampton Row. Latter part of 1st century A.D.

30. (A 27217). Grey-buff urn, with lid and burnt bones ; found on the site of Charing Cross Hospital. Probably late 1st century A.D. (It may be noted that the Strand almost certainly represents a Roman road.)

31. Pl. XIII A, 4 (A 27263). Dark grey urn containing burnt bones, with a buff bowl used as a cover. Found at a depth of 9 ft. in the Quadrant Arcade, Regent Street. Probably 2nd half of 1st century A.D.

32. (A 20902). Dark grey urn, with smoothed lattice pattern and containing burnt bones. Found on St. Anne's Hill, Wandsworth. 2nd century A.D.

3. SCULPTURE

It is difficult to define or to appraise Romano-British "art." The term applies to three separate categories, which merge into one another but are in origin distinct. It includes, first, that art which is not British at all, but is derived directly from more southerly regions—*imported* art. This art represents the taste of certain of the more cultivated and wealthy inhabitants of Roman Britain, but has nothing directly to do

with the Romano-British artist. Of this kind are the marble statues of a river-god and of a *Bonus Eventus*, catalogued below. There is, secondly, the category of what may be called *imitative* art ; that is to say, art (if it may so be described) which was produced in Britain by makers who strove, with greater or less inadequacy, to imitate the style of the imported works and thus to produce substitutes for them. A fairly good example of this category is the much-damaged "Cautopates" (Pl. XVIIB), carved in oolite quarried in the west of England; a low example of the same category of work is provided by the grotesque figure of Mercury on the Smithfield altar (Pl. XVIIIB). To a third category belong those home-made works which are *native British* rather than Roman. These are very rarely found in stone. More often are they small objects of metal or of pottery, on which the British craftsman has lavished his own inherited skill with that attractive liveliness that characterizes "Celtic" decoration within its restricted field. Examples of this native craftsmanship will be found in a later section amongst the brooches, but do not occur in the present section.

A word may be added as to the provenance of the materials used for the stone sculptures here catalogued. Four of these sculptures are of marble, most, if not all, of which must have come from Italy, although the actual carving may in some instances (notably, the Mithraic relief, Pl. XVIIA) have been carried out in the provinces. The other materials used—alike for the sculpture, the architectural fragments noted above (p. 37), and the tombstones other than those of foreign marble (p. 49)—are probably all of British origin. Dr. H. H. Thomas and Mr. J. Pringle are of opinion that most of these stones are "from the superior oolite of the west of England, probably from the outcrop of those rocks lying between Wincanton and Bath. The structure of the rocks, the fossils and the mode of occurrence of the rocks all favour this district. At the same time it must not be lost sight of that some of the rocks could be matched from the Corallian of Wiltshire. However, the sporadic occurrence of these rocks and the general difficulty in obtaining large sound masses militates against the possibility of the Corallian being the source."



B. Statue of Cautopates, from Drury Lane.
Scale of inches. (See p. 45.)

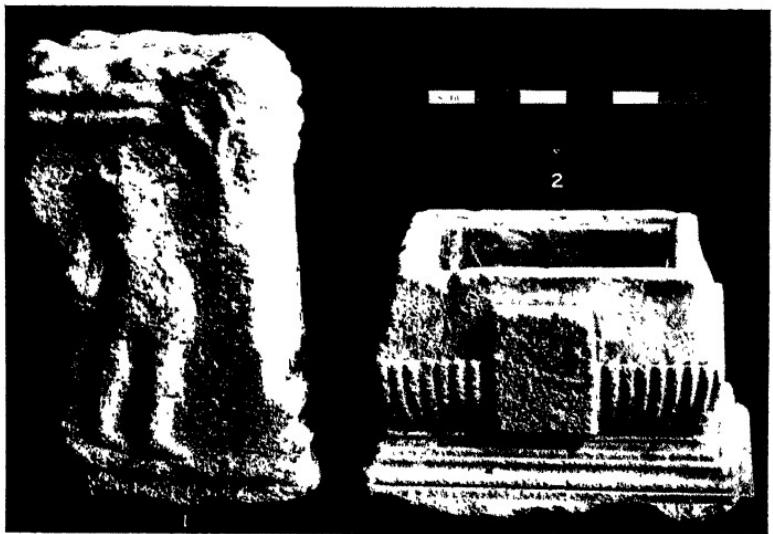


A. Marble statue of Bonus Eventus,
from the Wallbrook.
Scale of inches. (See p. 45.)

PLATE XVII.



A. Mithraic relief from the Walbrook.
Height $17\frac{1}{2}$ ins. (See p. 45.)



B. Stone altar from Smithfield, and stone cist from Old Broad Street.
Scale of inches. (See pp. 41, 46.)

(i) STONE

Pl. XV (A 16931). Upper part of a river-god, represented, as is usual in such cases, in a reclining attitude. Against the right shoulder is a fragment of a water-plant, probably held formerly in the right hand, now lost. The hair of head and beard is long and flowing, and the locks over the forehead are treated in a manner which a little suggests horns. The pupils of the eyes are worn, but appear to have been indicated by a slight mark—a feature which suggests a 2nd- rather than a 1st-century date. Height of fragment, 14½ ins. Material, a foreign white marble with bluish veins. Said to have been found in the City, near the middle of the Walbrook, at a depth of about 20 ft. (See F. Haverfield, *Archaeologia*, LX, 45.) (Ex Ransom Collection.)

Pl. XVI A (A 16932). Headless male figure, erect, draped from the waist downwards, the drapery carried up the back and round the neck as a cloak. In the right hand is a *patera* held over a burning altar, and a snake encircles the wrist. The left hand holds up a well-filled cornucopia against the left shoulder. Near the left foot is a vessel's prow, and round it conventional indications of waves. The figure represents either the Genius or personal deity of some man or town, or the deity Bonus Eventus or Good Fortune. The presence of the ship is in either case peculiarly suitable at a great port such as London. Height, 23½ ins. Material, foreign white marble. Said to have been found in the City, near the middle of the Walbrook, at a depth of about 20 ft. (See F. Haverfield, *Archaeologia*, LX, 45.) (Ex Ransom Collection.)

Pl. XVI B (C 29.194). Figure in high relief, probably representing Cautopates, the torch-holder with inverted torch, from a Mithraic group such as that which follows. Height of stone, 26 ins. Material, a coarse oolite or ragstone. Found in Drury Lane. Lent by the London County Council.

Pl. XVII A (A 16933). Relief representing the Mithraic Sacrifice; a good but not exceptional example of this type. It depicts the Persian god Mithras stabbing the sacred bull with his right hand whilst with his left he holds the animal's nose. From the bull's blood springs the life of the earth, which is represented by a serpent (broken) about to drink the holy blood. The dog, the companion of Mithras, leaps forward also to drink the blood; but the hostile powers of the lower world are represented by a scorpion which is attacking the genitals of the bull. Flanking the group, within the circular frame, stand Cautes and Cautopates, the one with torch raised to represent Light, the other with torch lowered to represent Darkness. Round the circle are carved the signs of the zodiac; in the top left-hand spandrel is the chariot of the rising sun drawn upward by four horses, and in the opposite spandrel is the chariot apparently of the setting moon drawn by two oxen (?). The lower spandrels contain the busts respectively of a bearded man and a woman, both with a pair of wings over the hair; these heads probably symbolize the winds. The stone also bears the inscription:

VLPIVS SILVANVS EMERITVS LEG(IONIS) II
AVG(VSTAE) VOTVM SOLVIT

and the words FACTVS ARAVISIONE.

The first part of the inscription means "Ulpius Silvanus, veteran of the Second

August Legion, paid his vow." The meaning of the second part is less certain. Haverfield preferred the rendering "he was discharged (*factus emeritus*) at Arausio"; Mr. R. G. Collingwood inclines to the interpretation "initiated (into some grade of the Mithraic community) at Arausio." It is less likely that it was the sculpture that was "made at Arausio." Arausio is Orange in Provence, and the soldier had presumably been sent there on some errand from his legion, of which the headquarters in the 2nd century (the probable period of the stone) was at Caerleon-on-Usk in Monmouthshire.

Dimensions, 22 ins. by 17½ ins. by 3½ ins. Material, a coarse marble.

Said to have been found in the City, near the middle of the Walbrook, at a depth of 20 feet. (See F. Haverfield, *Archaeologia*, LX, 46; R. G. Collingwood, *R.C.H.M. Roman London*, 170.)

Pl. XVIIIB (A 1259). Altar, with figure of Mercury in relief. Height, 10 ins. Material, oolite. Found in Smithfield. Given by W. M. Newton, Esq.

Pl. XVIII (B 362). Marble tombstone, 24½ ins. by 13 ins. by 4 ins. with relief showing a group of a mourning woman, seated, in front of whom stands a boy, nude, representing the deceased. Below is a panel with the inscription in two lines.

Δέξιε Διοτίμου χρηστὲ χαίρε

i.e. "Good Dexios, son of Diotimos, farewell."

Found in Drury Lane, but whether a relic of Romano-British London or whether brought over subsequently cannot be affirmed. Nevertheless, other Greek inscriptions have undoubtedly been found in Britain and there is no substantial reason for rejecting this.

(ii) METAL

Pl. XIX, 1 (A 17712). Bronze figure, probably of Mercury; both arms and legs damaged. Height, as preserved, 3¾ inches. Found at the Royal Exchange.

Pl. XIX, 2 (A 20158). Bronze figure of Mercury; pouch in right hand, left hand and part of right leg missing. Height, 5 ins. Found at the corner of Fore Street and Milton Street.

Pl. XIX, 3 (A 9632). Bronze figure of Hercules, with lion-skin over left arm and upraised right arm, club missing. Height, 5 ins. Found in Grocers' Hall Court.

Pl. XIX, 4 (A 25383). Bronze figure of Ceres, seated; eyes formerly inlaid. Height, 2½ ins. Found in the Thames at London.

Pl. XIX, 5 (A 2469). Bronze head of woman. Found in Fish Street Hill.

Pl. XIX, 6 (A 25382). Bronze figure of Minerva, seated; left hand on shield (missing), right hand upraised against helmet to hold spear (missing). Height, 4 ins. Found at Isleworth.

Pl. XIX, 7 (A 23462). Bronze figure of a gladiator, of the heavily-

To face p. 46.]

PLATE XVIII.



Tombstone with Greek inscription, from Drury Lane.
Height 24 ins. (See p. 46.)



Bronze statuettes and busts.
Scale of inches. (See pp. 46, 47.)

armed type known as "Samnite." Height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Found in London Wall.

Pl. XIX, 8 (29.195). Bronze steelyard weight in the form of a woman's head. 2nd century A.D. Found in London. (For the use of these weights, see p. 86.)

Pl. XIX, 9 (A 17640). Bronze steelyard weight in the form of a head and bust of Isis. Found in London.

Pl. XX. (29.197). Plaque of base silver, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ ins., found in Moorgate Street. It bears in repoussé the figures of the three Mother Goddesses, seated on a bench, between columns and beneath triple arches. Each Goddess holds in her left hand a branch and in her right hand apparently a dish. The top of the plaque probably ended in a feather-like projection or series of projections. Plaques of this kind were used to ornament crowns, etc., used probably in religious ritual. For the type, see *Antiquaries Journal*, V, 258, and *Brit. Mus. Guide to Roman Britain*, 35.

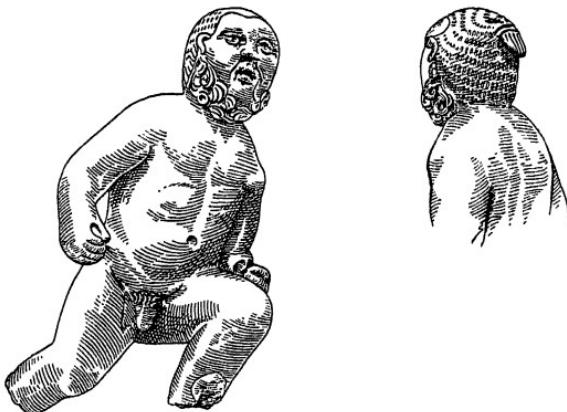


FIG. 5.—Bronze statuette of a barbarian, found near the Bank of England £. (See p. 47.)

Fig. 5.—Bronze statuette (A 28564), found in the valley of the Walbrook near the Bank of England. The figure is that of a bearded man, nude save for close-fitting skin cap which retains at the back one of the ears of the animal. Close to the present ends of the two fragmentary legs are small lumps of lead which may represent an ancient repair or may be part of the original junction between the figure and the group of which it must have formed a part. In spite of its Herculean characteristics, the attitude of the figure indicates that it represents a barbarian in the conventional attitude of kneeling beneath the onslaught of a victorious Roman horseman. The workmanship is rough but not without spirit, and the heavy, rather gross form of the figure is rendered with some skill. It is probably of 3rd-century date.

(iii) CLAY STATUETTES

(Plate XXI)

Fragments of eight pipe-clay figurines represent an extensive industry which flourished in the Allier district of central France during the first century A.D., and later extended to the Rhineland, where it enjoyed a considerable vogue (e.g. at Rheinzabern) throughout the second century. Occasionally these figures seem to have lasted into the 4th century A.D.; a pipe-clay "Venus" has recently been found in a 4th-century barrack building at Birdoswald, on Hadrian's Wall. The figurines are cast in moulds, and the majority of them fall into two classes: (i) figurines of Venus, as Nos. A 249, 1693 and 24911 below; and (ii) figures of a seated goddess suckling either one or two infants, as A 243 and 244 below. The interpretation of the latter subject is doubtful. The cult of mother-goddesses is characteristic of Roman Gaul, particularly of the eastern area, and it is possible that in the present form they presided specifically over childbirth. If so, they probably represented a native deity who may have been identified with Juno Lucina, the Roman goddess who was especially concerned in this matter. (See E. Tudot, *Collection de figurines en argile*, 30; *Wroxeter Report*, 1912, 31; W. Ludowici, *Urnen-Graeber in Rheinzabern*, III, 195; Lindenschmit, *Altertümer unserer heidnische Vorzeit*, V, 381.) The figurines were sometimes placed in pipe-clay shrines, and were used probably for domestic worship—perhaps as charms rather than as definite cult-objects—and certainly as offerings at temples. Many of them, for example, have been found in the Romano-Celtic temples of Normandy.

1 (A 1693). Part of pipe-clay statuette of Venus. Found in Coleman Street. (Ex Hilton Price Collection.)

2 (A 249). Part of pipe-clay statuette of Venus. Found in Copthall Court.

3 (A 24911). Part of pipe-clay statuette of Venus. Found in London. (Ex Amherst Collection.)

4 (A 25173). Part of pipe-clay statuette of Venus. Found in Angel Court.

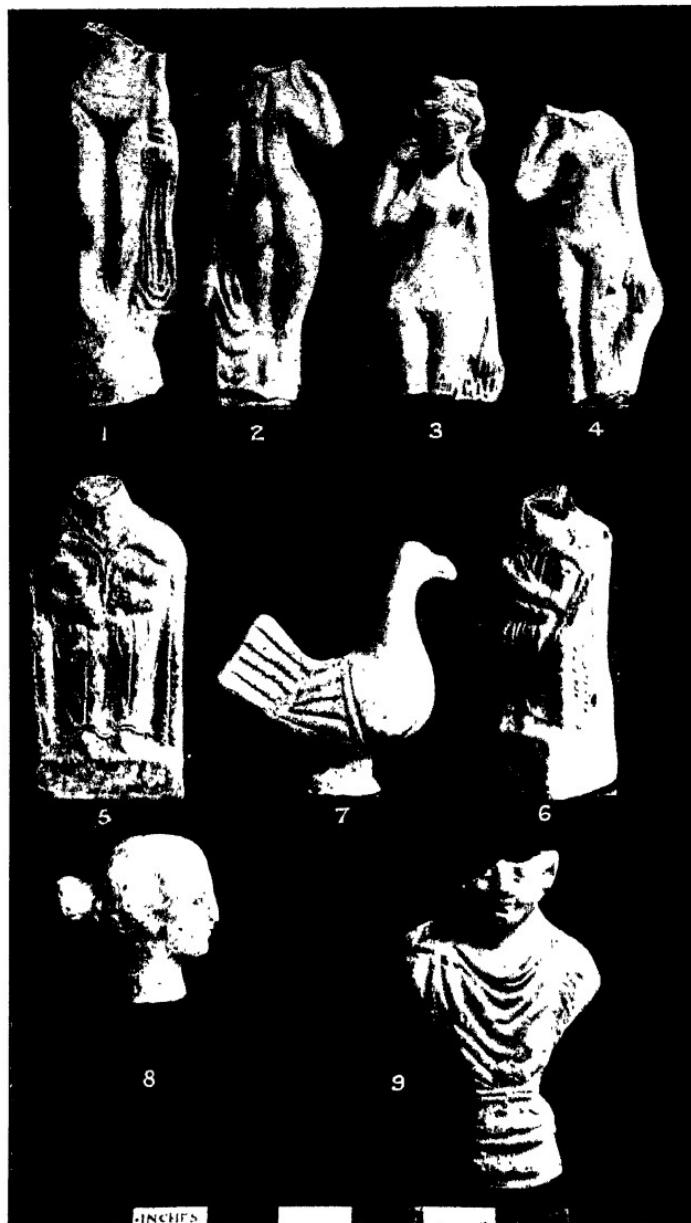
5 (A 243). Part of pipe-clay statuette of Mother-goddess, seated in basket chair and holding an infant to each breast. Found in Austin Friars.

PLATE XX.

To face p. 48.]



Silver plaque from Moorgate Street.
Scale of inches. (See p. 47.)



Figurines, etc., of clay.
Scale of inches. (See pp. 48, 49.)

6 (A 244). Part of pipe-clay statuette of Mother-goddess, seated in basket chair and holding infant to right breast. Found in Cophall Court.

8 (A 2573). Woman's head of pipe-clay. Found on the site of the Law Courts, Strand. (*Ex* Hilton Price Collection.)

7 (A 28386). Figure of a cock, of pipe-clay. Found in King William Street.

The cock was regarded as a bird of peculiar sanctity in Gaul, and figurines of this type are not uncommon.

9 (A 245). Part of a terracotta bust. Found in Cophall Court.

4. INSCRIPTIONS

(i) ON STONE

Pl. XXIIA (A 239). Small marble tombstone, 12 ins. by 9 ins., bearing the inscription :

M. AUR(ELIO) EUCARPO FIL(IO) PIENTISSIMO, VIXIT ANN(OS) XV M(ENSES) VI, AUR(ELIA) EUCARPIA MA(TER) POSSUIT. "To Marcus Aurelius Eucarpus, my most devoted son ; aged 15 years 6 months ; set up by his mother, Aurelia Eucarpia."

The character of the lettering suggests a 3rd- or 4th-century date. Found in Moorgate Street, in the bed of the Walbrook, 1911.

Pl. XXIIB (A 29.90). Small tombstone, 13 ins. by 11½ ins., inscribed :

D(IS) M(ANIBVS)
FL(AVIVS) AGRICOLA MIL(ES)
LEG(IONIS) VI VICT(RICIS) V(IXIT) AN(NOS)
XLII D(IES) X ALBIA
FAVSTINA CONIVGI
INCONPARABILI
F(ACIENDVM) C(VRAVIT)

i.e. "In memory of Flavius Agricola, private of the Sixth Victorious Legion, aged 42 years and ten days ; erected by Albia Faustina to her peerless husband."

The Sixth Victorious Legion came to Britain about A.D. 122 and was stationed at York.

Found in 1787 in Goodman's Fields, i.e. outside the city walls north of the Tower of London. Material, a highly micaceous sandstone or flagstone, probably from the Old Red Sandstone or Downtonian of the Mendips. Lent by the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Pl. XXIIIA (A 25458)). Fragmentary tombstone, 13½ ins. by 10½ ins., bearing the inscription :

[D(IS)] M(ANIBUS) [SEMPRO]NIO SEMPRO[NIANO CEN]TU-
RIONI LEG(IONIS) . . . [VI]XIT ANNOS LI, [ET FRATRIB]
US SEMPRONIIS . . . ET SECUNDO; [LIBER]TI EIUS
[PATRONIS BENE ME]REN[TIBUS POS]U[E]RUNT.

"In memory of Sempronius Sempronianus, centurion in the -th Legion,
D—(63)

aged 51, and his brothers Sempronius . . . and Sempronius Secundus, erected by his freemen to their deserving patrons."

Found in Bishopsgate, 1922. Material, Purbeck marble.

Pl. XVIIA. Mithraic inscription. See p. 45.

Pl. XVIII (B 362). Greek sepulchral inscription. See p. 46.

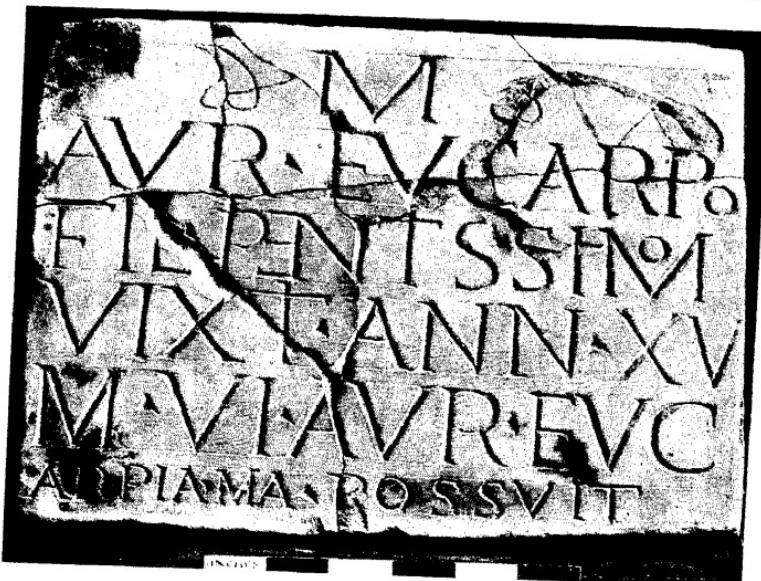
(ii) ON BRICKS OR TILES

Pl. XXIIIb (A 26417). Fragment of a tile, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick, bearing the letters

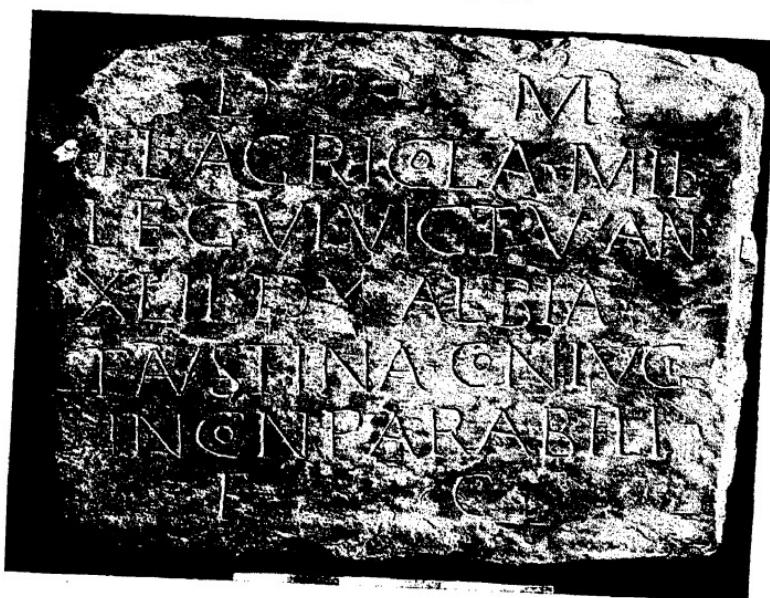
....]MVLI[....
....]OMP[....
....]TCR[....

The meaning of this inscription is not clear, but the names [RO]MULI and [P]OMP[EI] seem to be indicated. Found in Bishopsgate.

Fig 6.—Numerous tiles have been found at various times throughout the city bearing the stamp P P BR LON, or the like, and three examples are included in the present collection, coming respectively from sites so far apart as St. Martin's-le-Grand, London Wall, and Leadenhall Street. The stamp, which occurs nowhere save in London, clearly refers to some Government department of the province, situated in that city, but agreement has not been reached as to the nature of the department or officials concerned. The title of the officials is abbreviated by the letter P, followed by some such words as *Pr(ovinciae) Br(itanniae) Lon(dini)*. Mommsen explained this title as referring to the *Publicani* or tax-collectors of the province, but it is difficult to see what concern these secondary officials can have had with the production of bricks on a large scale, nor is there any good warrant for the contraction *P(ublicani)*. The latter difficulty applies also to an alternative suggestion that the initials stand for *P(rocuratores)*, i.e. the financial officials. Mr. G. H. Stevenson suggests *P(ortitores)*, i.e. the officers of the *portoria* or customs. It would not be unnatural for the materials for the Roman custom-house to bear an official stamp. On the other hand, the wide distribution of these stamps throughout the city suggests rather that the bricks so marked were produced by the Roman equivalent of the Office of Works and were used for various buildings of an official character. The problem is, of course, complicated by the probability that some of the stamped



A. Marble tombstone from Moorgate Street.
Scale of inches. (See p. 49.)



B. Tombstone from Goodman's Fields.
Scale of inches. (See p. 49.)

PLATE XXIII.



B. Fragment of inscribed tile from Bishopsgate.
Height 5 ins. (See p. 50.)



A. Tombstone from Bishopsgate.
Scale of inches. (See p. 49.)

bricks reached their diverse find-spots through being re-used in Roman or post-Roman times.

Fig. 6, 1 (A 27182). Part of an *imbrex*, or semicircular roof-tile, bearing, in good lettering, the inscription P P BR LON. Found on the site of Lloyd's in Leadenhall Street.

Fig. 6, 2 (A 16402). Fragment of tile, 1 in. thick, bearing part of a stamped ansate panel with the letters P·P[R]·BR]. Found on the site of the General Post Office, St. Martin's-le-Grand, 1915.

Fig. 6, 3 (A 15289). Fragment of tile, $1\frac{3}{8}$ -in. thick, bearing the rough retrograde inscription P P B[R] LON. Found in London Wall, 1882.

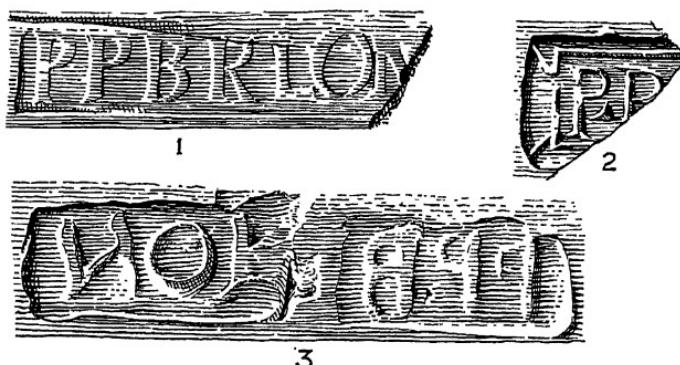


FIG. 6.—Stamps on tiles : 1, from Leadenhall Street ; 2, from St. Martin's-le-Grand ; 3, from London Wall. ½. (See p. 50.)

(iii) ON POTTERY

Pl. V (A 9329). Buff jug, probably not later than the third quarter of the 1st century A.D., bearing on the shoulder the scratched inscription :

LONDINI
AD FANVM ISIDIS

i.e. "At London, at the Temple of Isis."

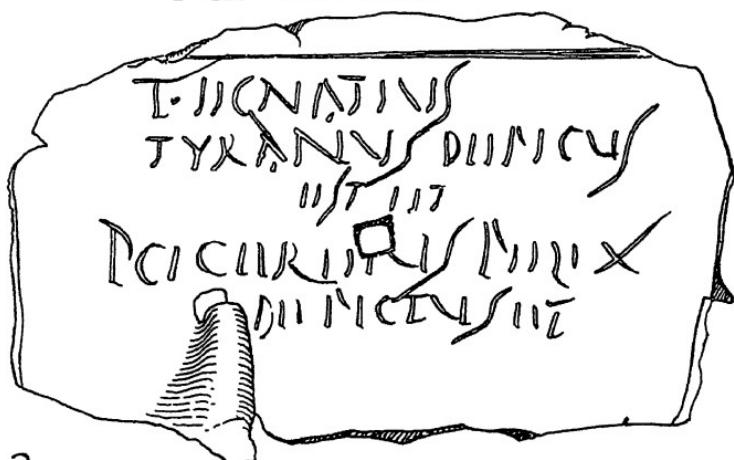
The jug was found in Southwark and suggests that a temple of Isis stood hereabouts.

For potters' stamps, see pp. 126 ff. and 160 ff.

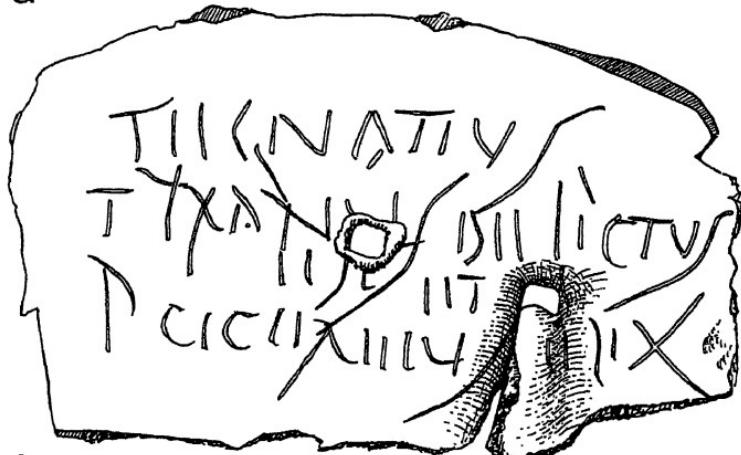
(iv) ON METAL

Fig. 7 (29.94/6). "The London Curse." Found in Princes Street, near the Bank of England. A roughly cut sheet of lead, $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 ins., bearing the following incised inscriptions respectively on the two sides :

- (a) T(IVS)·EGNATIVS
 TYRANVS·DEFIC(T)VS
 EST ET
 P(VBLIVS) CICEREIVS FELIX
 DEFICTVS E(S)T
- (b) T(IVS) EGNATIVS
 TYRANVS DEFICTVS
 EST ET
 P CICEREIVS FELIX



a



b

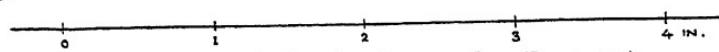


FIG. 7.—The London Curse. $\frac{2}{3}$. (See p. 51.)

In the centre of the plate is a square nail-hole, and both from the formation of this hole and from the more formal character of the lettering of inscription (*a*) it is clear that, when the plate was nailed in position, this side was outermost. The rougher repetition on the back of the plate was probably in the nature either of a preliminary trial or of a "reserve" so that the curse might still be effective even if the outer inscription were defaced. The inscriptions may be rendered: "Titus Egnatius Tyranus is hereby solemnly cursed; likewise Publius Cicereius Felix." The use of the word *defixio* for a written curse, which the suppliant affixed to a shrine and entrusted to the presiding deity for necessary action, is normal, but the use of the corresponding verb in this sense is uncommon though natural. The form *defictus* for the conventional *defixus* may be noted.

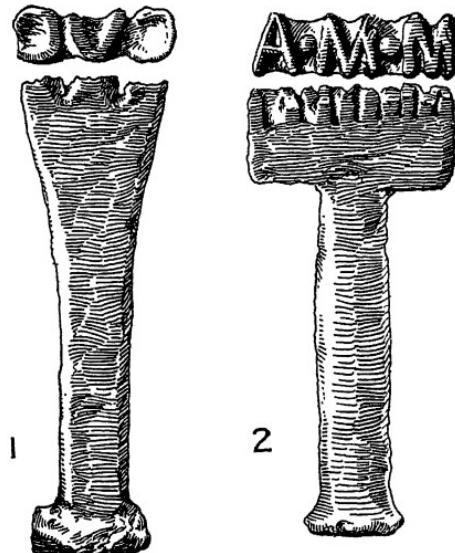


FIG. 8.—Branding-irons: 1, from Tokenhouse Yard; 2, from Princes Street.
½. (See pp. 53, 54.)

Only three other Roman curses have hitherto been recorded in Britain—at Bath, Lydney and Caerleon—but the custom represented by them was widespread. Usually both the deity supplicated and the nature of the offence for which retribution is asked are specified in the inscription. In the present instance these details are absent, although the plate is certainly complete.

Fig. 8, 1 (A 27345). Branding-iron, possibly for marking woodwork (barrels, etc.); it is intended to impress the initials CVC. Found in Tokenhouse Yard. A similar type of Roman stamp is illustrated by Champion in the *Revue archéologique*, 1916, and in the *Catalogue illustré* of the Museum of Saint Germain-en-Laye, I, 285.

Fig. 8, 2 (29.94/27). Branding-iron for impressing the initials M.M.A. Found in Princes Street, near the Bank of England.

For other inscriptions on metal, see pp. 58, 76, 78.

(v) ON WOODEN TABLETS

The recessed wooden tablets or *tabellae*, made to contain wax on which lettering could be scratched by a point or *stilus* (see below, p. 56), occasionally themselves bear traces of inscriptions where the stilus has penetrated the now-vanished wax to the soft fir-wood beyond. Three fragments, from a series found in Lothbury, have here been illustrated and transcribed by Mr. R. G. Collingwood.

Fig. 9, 1 (29.94). Two sides of a fragmentary leaf, bearing on one side the word . . . *tumolo*, and on the other the following words :

..... [Ion]-
emi optimum maximum et per ge
nium imp(eratoris) Domitian(i) c(a)esaris aug(usti) Ge-
rmanici et per deos patrios s . .
..... et mer . . .

i.e. “ . . . by Lord Almighty Jupiter and by the Genius of His Imperial Majesty Domitian Conqueror of Germany, and by the Gods of our fathers . . . ” The words form part of an oath or promise, and are of special interest since they date the inscription to the period A.D. 84–96, thus providing a rare example of dated cursive script.

Fig. 9, 2 (29.94). Fragment bearing the words

quam pecuniam petitionis item
scriptis solvere nibi debebit Cres-
cens isve ad quem ea res per-
tinebit ris primis
..... ss . . t

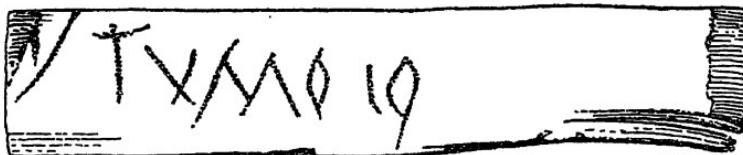
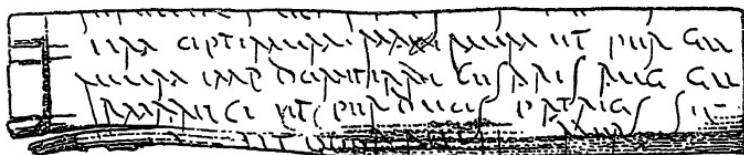
i.e. “ which money by the terms likewise of the claim shall be paid to me by Crescens or by the person concerned . . . ”

Part of a deed of loan or purchase—an interesting glimpse of a Roman business transaction, found, it may be noted, within the purlieus of the present business centre of the city.

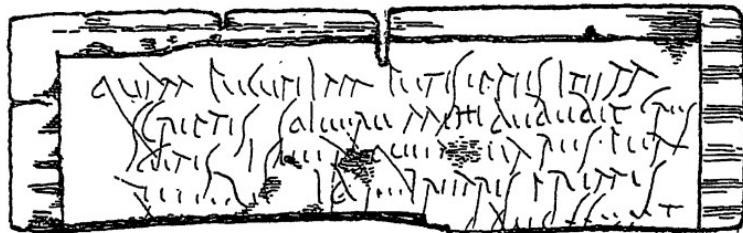
Fig. 9, 3 (29.94). Fragment bearing the words :

..... rem vendidisse
ex taberna sua
..... naveni faci-
endam et permissionem dedisse
..... clavi faciendi

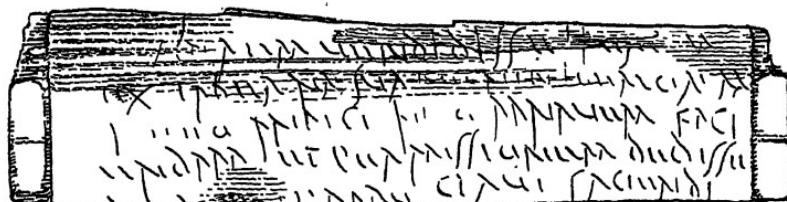
The intelligible words are too few for a reconstruction of the document. It refers to the sale of some object from a shop (*taberna*), to the building of a



1



2



3

FIG. 9.—Fragments of inscribed writing-tablets from Lothbury. 2. (See p. 54.)

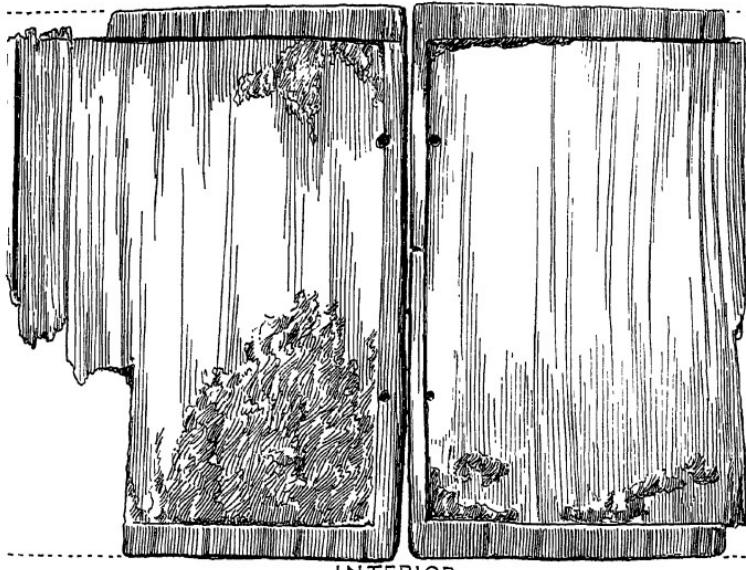
ship, and to the granting of authority for some purpose or other, including apparently the making of a rudder.

5. WRITING-MATERIALS

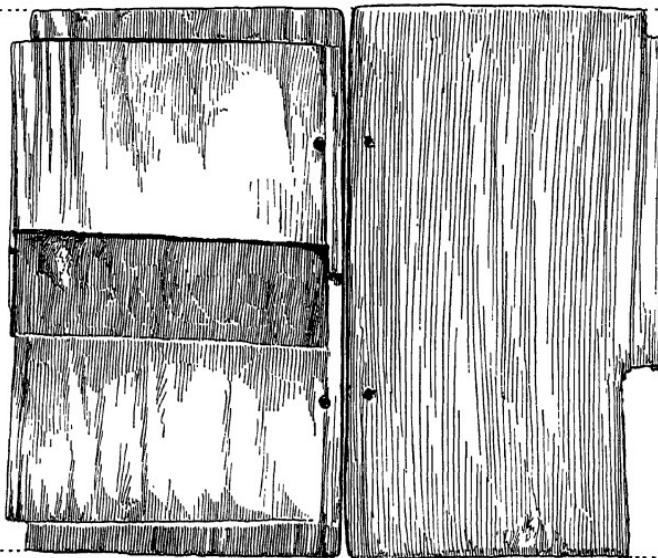
Two methods of writing were in use amongst the Romans, and both are represented in London. The first was by means of a pointed instrument (*stilus* or *stylus*) on waxed boards (*tabellae ceratae*, or merely *cerae*; alternatively, *pugillares*, *codicilli* or *libellae*); the other was by means of pen and ink on papyrus or parchment.

Almost any small pointed instrument could be used as a stilus, and bone pins with inserted metal points (Pl. XXIV, 6-8) were possibly intended for this purpose. The normal stilus, however, was of iron (more rarely of bronze) with a point at one end and a broad, flat butt with which the wax could be smoothed and previous lettering erased (Pl. XXIV and Fig. 10); hence the phrase *verttere stilum*, "to turn the stilus," in the sense of "to erase." The tablets were of wood, usually fir, and were recessed to receive the wax. Two or more of them were commonly hinged by means of cords, and the timber book thus formed was bound together by a further cord which could be sealed within a recess provided for this purpose on one of the covers (Fig. 10). None of the London tabellae retains more than slight traces of the wax, but in several examples the point of the stilus has penetrated the wax to the soft wood of the tablet with sufficient incisiveness to enable part of the inscription to be read (see above, Fig. 9, p. 55). It may be added that, on the one hand, the stilus was used in early Greece, and that, on the other, it was freely employed by the Saxons, as is shown, for example, by its abundance amongst the remains of the pre-Conquest abbey at Whitby. Indeed, its use survived well into the Middle Ages.

The instruments employed in the alternative method of writing were essentially those of the present day. The pens (*calami*) of reed, bronze and possibly quill, had split nibs (Fig. 11); the ink (*atramentum*), probably a preparation from lamp-black, was kept in ink-pots (*atramentaria*) of metal or pottery (Fig. 11); and a substance approaching the character of paper was manufactured, largely at Alexandria, from the Egyptian papyrus plant. Alternatively parchment, at one time prepared mainly at Pergamon (whence its name), was used.



INTERIOR



EXTERIOR



FIG. 10.—Writing-tablets from Lothbury, and iron stilus from Princes Street.
1. (See pp. 56, 58.)

Neither papyrus nor parchment, however, has survived in the soil of Britain.

Pl. XXIV. Typical iron stili are here represented. They need not be described individually, save to remark that No. 2 is inlaid with bands of copper. Nos. 6-8, of bone with inserted iron points, are possibly also Roman stili.

Fig. 10. The iron stilus (29.86) illustrated in this figure was found in Princes Street, and is notable as bearing the maker's stamp near the spatulate end. The stamp is, however, illegible. The tablets (29.86) in this figure were found together in Lothbury and form a pair, formerly hinged by cords passing through the holes at the inner edges. The cover bearing the horizontal

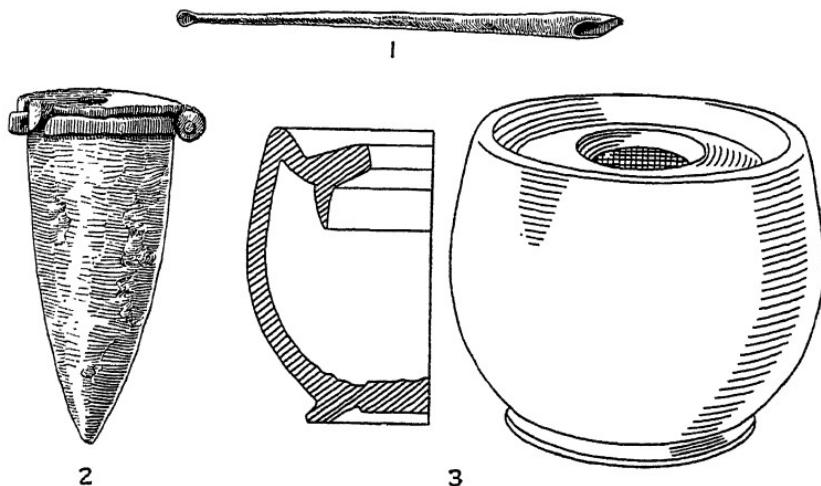


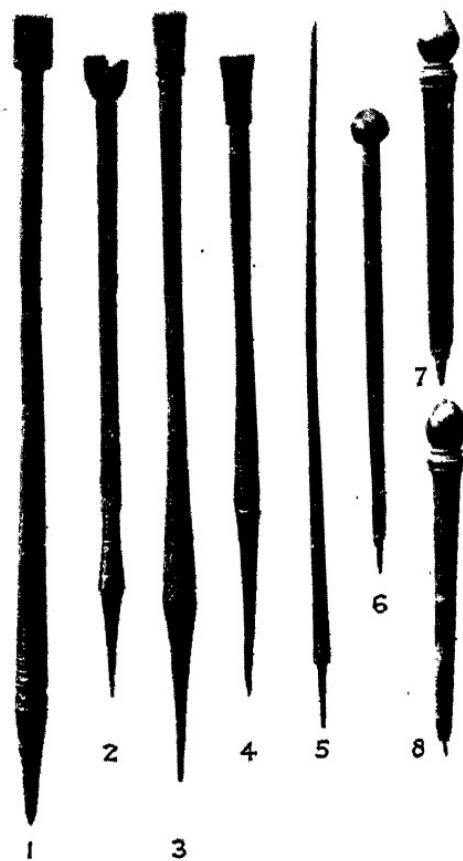
FIG. 11.—1, Bronze pen from Finsbury Circus; 2, bronze ink-pot from King William Street; 3, ink-pot of Samian ware from Gracechurch Street.
½. (See pp. 56, 58.)

recess for the seals of the binding-cord was originally intended as an interleaf, as is shown by the fact that it is recessed on both sides to take the wax. The tablets are of Silver Fir (*Abies pectinata De Candolle*), a tree which is found wild in the mountains of central and southern Europe.

Other tablets, mostly from Lothbury or Princes Street, are preserved in the Museum. (See also above, p. 54.)

Fig. 11, 1. Roman pens are not common in Britain, but a bronze example, from Finsbury Circus, is here illustrated (A 1315, given by W. M. Newton, Esq.). The nib is cleft, as in modern pens, and the butt-end is expanded and cupped for use in stirring the ink.

Fig. 11, 2 and 3. Ink-pots of Samian ware, as No. 3 (A 16988) from Gracechurch Street, are not uncommon. Metal ink-pots are considerably less abundant; No. 2 (A 22749) is a good example from King William Street.



Stili from various London sites. 2. (See p. 58.)



Bronze lamp from the Thames at Greenwich. $\frac{1}{2}$. (See p. 62.)

6. LIGHTING

(i) CANDELABRA

For purposes of illumination the Romans used torches, candles and oil-lamps, and both candlesticks and lamps from

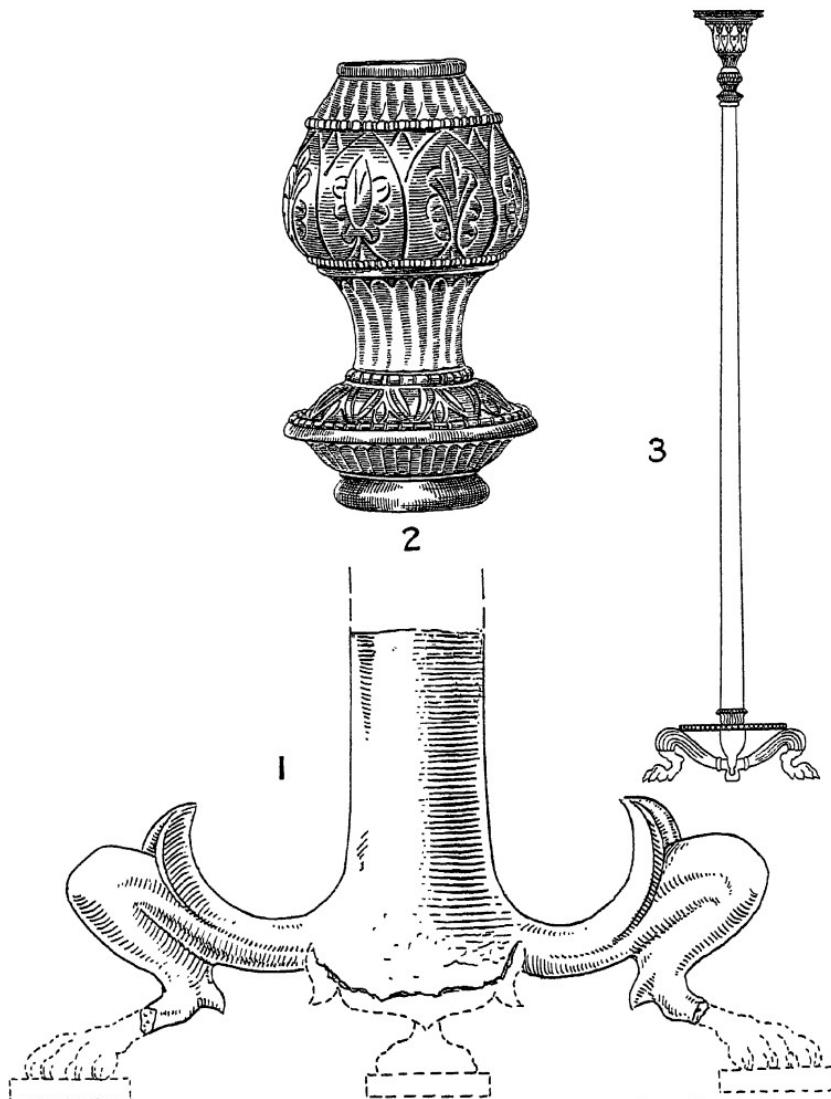


FIG. 12.—1, Base of bronze candelabrum from King William Street (§);
2, neck-moulding of a bronze candelabrum from Copthall Court (§);
3, a complete candelabrum from Pompeii (about 1). (See p. 60.)

London are represented in the Museum. They were sometimes supported on tall stands or candelabra, of a type common, for instance, at Pompeii. Fragments of two candelabra are here illustrated. One consists of a foot-stand with the usual three lions' feet, from King William Street (Fig. 12, 1). The other (Fig. 12, 2 and Pl. XLVII) is a well-preserved neck-moulding from Copthall Court, closely similar to Pompeian examples (*e.g.* *Real Museo Borbonico*, I, Pl. XI). A complete candelabrum from Pompeii is illustrated in Fig. 12, 3.

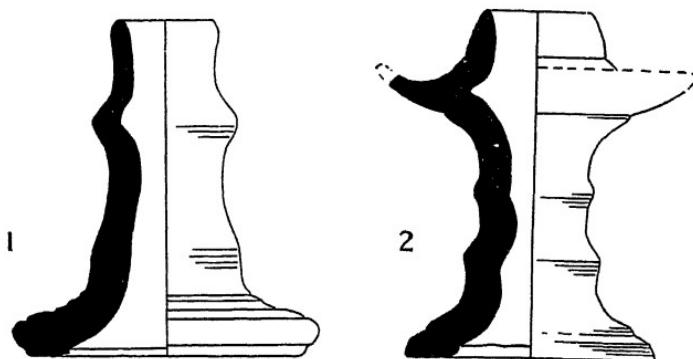


FIG. 13.—Clay candlesticks: 1, from Leadenhall Street; 2, from London Wall.
½. (See p. 60.)

(ii) CANDLESTICKS

Candlesticks were either of metal or of pottery. Two examples, both of buff clay, are preserved in the Museum (Fig. 13). One (29.129) is from Leadenhall Street; the other (A 1709), with a tray below the nozzle, was found in London Wall (*ex* Hilton Price Collection).

(iii) LAMPS

Roman lamps were likewise either of metal or of pottery. The simplest form of lamp is an open vessel containing oil in which the wick is set, the lighted end projecting over the side. For this purpose, hollowed stones, shells and small clay or metal dishes have been used in many different periods and places; and open, straight-sided trays with a projection opposite the handle (*e.g.* Pl. XXIX, 7) may have been used

sometimes by the Romans as lamps, although they seem normally to have been intended only as lamp-stands. The primitive open lamp, however, had the serious disadvantage that the wick was insecure and difficult to regulate, and that the oil in the container was liable to catch fire. Accordingly, the normal classical lamp is partially covered, the two main openings being one in the container for purposes of filling and one in the nozzle for the wick. Small secondary air-vents are also found on many examples.



FIG. 14.—1 and 2, lamp-fillers ; 3, clay lamp with triple nozzle and bone plug ; 4 and 5, bronze lamps. $\frac{1}{2}$. (See pp. 61, 62, 69.)

The Roman lamp of Imperial times was usually known by the name *lucerna*, derived from the word *lux*, meaning "light"; though Vergil and other relatively early writers had used the word *lychnus* derived from the Greek. The body or container, commonly circular in form, was known as the *infundibulum*, its circular cover (which bore the principal decoration, if any) as the *discus*, and the nozzle as the *rostrum*, *naso* or *myxus*. The nozzles ranged from one to twelve or more in number; an example with three nozzles, from Southwark, is illustrated in Fig. 14, 3. The filling-hole in the *discus* could be closed by a lid of metal or pottery, or by a plug of bone or other material (see Fig. 14, 3). The small cups with

spouts, used for filling lamps, were either of pottery or of metal. Fig. 14, 1, illustrates a pottery filler (A 254, from London Wall); Fig. 14, 2, is a pewter vessel (A 14690, from London Bridge) which has been squeezed into the form of a filler.

(a) METAL LAMPS

Pl. XXV (A 1260). A fine bronze lamp with two rounded and voluted nozzles, and a curved handle ending at the top in a ram's head and at the base in a human head. On each side of the container are three palmettes. The lamp was found in the Thames at Greenwich, and was given by W. M. Newton, Esq. (It may be noted incidentally that a building of some importance, possibly a temple, has been partially excavated in Greenwich Park.) The lamp is of a type which occurs at Pompeii, and is probably of the 1st century A.D.

Fig. 14, 4 (A 16648). Bronze lamp in the form of the prow of a galley with cock's-head figurehead. From Water Lane.

Fig. 14, 5 (A 17217). Bronze lamp with two lateral lugs for suspension, and a handle shielded by a simplified palmette. A hole in the palmette was probably intended for attaching a chain from the lid, which is missing. Found in the Thames at London. A similar lamp at Adenau in Germany was associated with coins of Domitian and Nerva, and may be dated to about 100 A.D. (*Westdeutsche Korrespondenzblatt* XXIII, 1904, Nr. 72).

(b) CLAY LAMPS

Roman pottery lamps have been variously classified, principally in relation to the form of the nozzle. Working on a German basis, Mr. H. B. Walters (*Catalogue of Lamps in the British Museum*, 1914) recognizes four main types. With certain modifications these types are here adopted.

Type I.—*Lamp with nozzle ending in an obtuse-angled termination, flanked on either side by a double volute.* This type lasted until about A.D. 90 in the Danubian area (e.g. several examples at Faimingen and Heidenheim), but farther west it seems to have died out some thirty or forty years earlier. It is therefore rarely found in this country, although seven examples, of which all or most come from London, are preserved in the Guildhall Museum. One of these is here illustrated, by courtesy of the Guildhall authorities, to represent the type (Fig. 15, 1).

Type II.—On the other hand, lamps closely derived from Type I are not uncommon on early sites in Britain, and seven

examples are preserved in the Museum. *These lamps differ from Type I only in having a rounded instead of an angular nozzle.* This type first appeared at the end of the first century B.C. and became the normal type from about 40 A.D. until the last decade of the century, when it seems to have vanished in north-western Europe. Thereafter, north of the Alps, it survived only in the somewhat isolated Danubian province of Rhaetia, where it lingered with little change, though in diminishing numbers, until nearly 200 A.D. (e.g. at Regensburg).

Both Types I and II are usually decorated in relief on the *discus*, and are sometimes known therefore as "picture-lamps."

Type III.—Lamps with a raised rim round the discus, and a longitudinal groove on the upper surface of the nozzle. This groove not infrequently contains a small air-vent. Two small lugs, or (where there is no handle) three, are commonly placed on the outer edge of the *discus*; they are vestiges of functional lugs used for suspending the lamp on chains (compare Fig. 14, 5). Type III is divided into two sub-types which may be known as *a* and *b* respectively. On Type III*a*, the circular flange of the *discus* is generally complete and closes the inner end of the groove on the nozzle; occasionally, however, this flange is interrupted at the groove, which thus runs through to the *discus*. This is presumably a derivative variant but seems to occur almost as early as the examples with the closed groove. The outer end of the nozzle-groove is invariably closed, so that the actual opening for the wick occupies a semicircular raised panel. As a whole, this type may therefore be known as the type with closed nozzle-groove. Type III*b* is distinguished from III*a* by the fact that the nozzle-groove runs through continuously from the *discus* to the opening for the wick, and is formed by a continuation of the flange from the *discus* to frame the semicircular panel containing the wick. The type may thus be distinguished as that with the open nozzle-groove.

Type III*a* occurs occasionally at Pompeii, but had evidently come into use only a few years before the destruction of the town in A.D. 79. It went out of use soon after the year 100;

for example, at Faimingen on the German frontier a cemetery first used about that date produced only nine examples of *a* as against over fifty of *b*. The half-century from A.D. 70 to 120 would amply cover the normal duration of *a*. Type III*b* was evolved about A.D. 100 and seems to have lasted throughout the second century.

Lamps of Type III probably originated in northern Italy, since the most prominent early maker of these lamps, a potter named Fortis, seems to have worked at Mutina in Cisalpine Gaul. This potter's lamps are not found in Africa, but his name occurs on great quantities of lamps in Italy and the northern provinces. From the fact, however, that the form of his stamp is hardly ever exactly duplicated in the provinces, it has been inferred that many lamps bearing his name are the products of provincial factories which thus sought to share the repute of the master lamp-maker in a manner not without parallel in the history of ancient and modern craftsmanship.

These lamps are often devoid of decoration or are at the most ornamented with some simple motive such as a mask (e.g. Pl. XXVII, 5). From the frequency with which they bear on the base the name of a potter or firm, they are commonly known as "firm-lamps" or proprietary lamps. The potter's name on this type is normally restricted to the *cognomen*, which appears in good raised letters in the genitive case, the words *ex officina* ("from the factory") being understood.

Type IV may be regarded as a simplification of Type II, the volutes being omitted and the nozzle reduced to a comparatively small semicircular or (later) heart-shaped projection. The discus is frequently ornamented, though less constantly than on the parent-type.

Type IV came into use as early as the Flavian period (e.g. at Hofheim). Towards the middle of the second century it became the dominant type and maintained this position throughout the remainder of the Roman period. Of the examples in the Museum, A 10015 (p. 68) is especially noteworthy by reason of its association with coins.

To these four main types may be added a miscellaneous class of more or less "home-made" varieties, often very

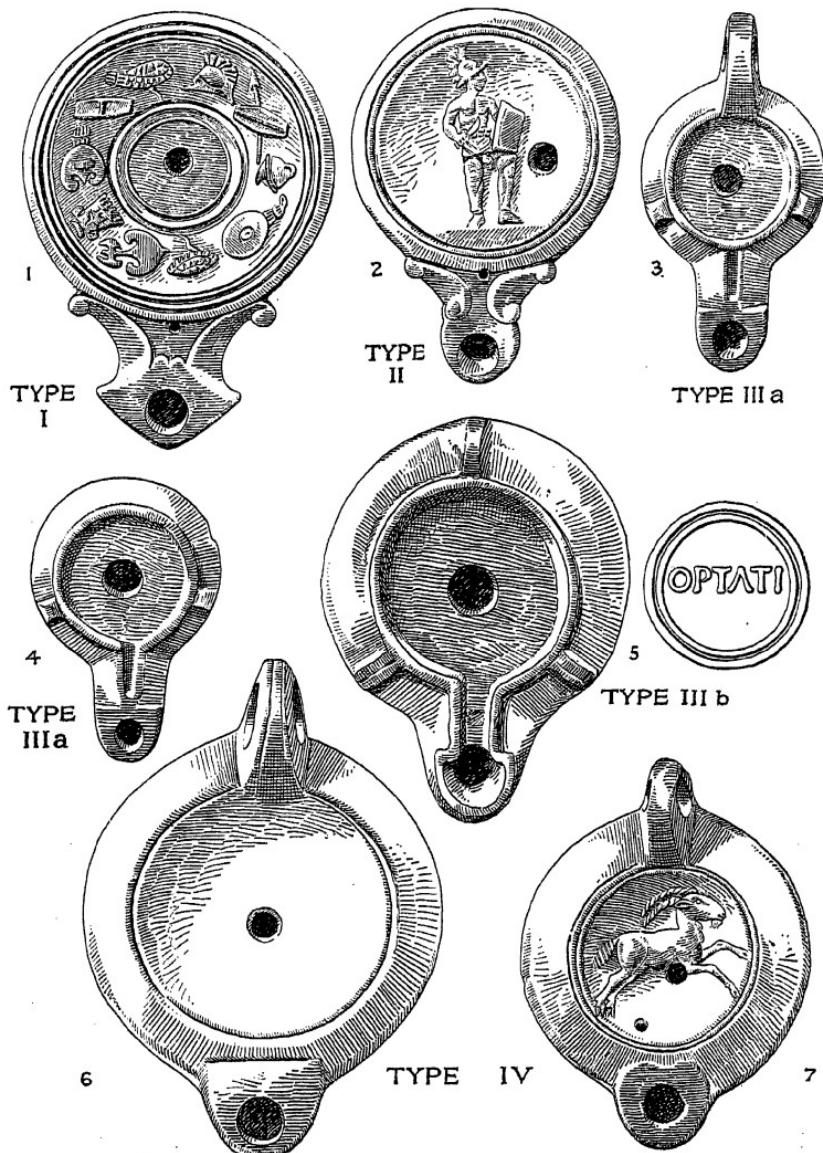


FIG. 15.—Principal types of clay lamps. ½. (See pp. 62 ff.)

Type I (prior to 90 A.D.): 1, from London (now in the Guildhall Museum).
 Type II (1st century A.D.): 2, from King William Street. Type IIIa
 (70-120 A.D.): 3, from London Wall; 4, from Milk Street. Type
 IIIb (2nd century A.D.): 5, from Fresh Wharf. Type IV (late 1st-4th
 century A.D.): 6, from Acton; 7, from St. Paul's.

rough and simple in form, and sometimes (as in Pl. XXIX, 6, below) reduced to the simplest possible elements—a circular cistern with a simple opening for the wick and another for filling. These miscellaneous examples do not call for closer classification.

(For further details in regard to lamps, see especially the British Museum Catalogue above referred to, and S. Loeschcke, *Keramische Funde in Haltern*, 209 ff.; E. Ritterling, *Das frührömische Lager bei Hofheim*, 263 ff.; F. Drexel, "Kastell Faimingen," in *Der Obergermanische-Raetische Limes*, Lief. XXXV, 100; F. Fremersdorf, *Römische Bildlampen*; S. Loeschcke, *Lampen aus Vindonissa*, 1919.)

Type I (mostly pre-Flavian)

Fig. 15, 1. In the absence of any definite example of this type in the Museum, one of the seven London examples in the Guildhall Museum is here illustrated by courtesy of the City authorities. It is a dark brown lamp ornamented on the *discus* with representations of Greek and Etruscan helmets; polygonal Gallic, lunate "Amazon" and circular shields, gladiator's arm-guard, spear and cuirass. For similar decoration, compare the *British Museum Catalogue*, Nos. 562 and 670.

Type II (1st century A.D.)

Fig. 15, 2 (A 22813). Buff lamp with orange slip; on the *discus* is a gladiator of the *Thraex* class, armed with a curved Thracian dagger, a small square shield, a helmet and a pair of greaves. Found in King William Street.

Pl. XXVI, 1 (A 24175). Buff lamp with dark brown slip; a dolphin on the *discus*. Found in Gracechurch Street. Part of a similar lamp from London is preserved in the Guildhall Museum.

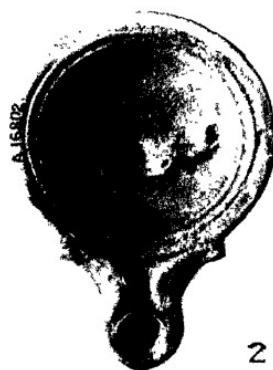
Pl. XXVI, 2 (A 16802). Buff lamp with dark orange slip; two confronted dolphins on the *discus*. Found in London (*ex Ransom Collection*).

Pl. XXVI, 3 (A 11509). Buff lamp with brown slip; on the *discus* a putto playing with a lamb or kid. Found on the site of the Queen's Head, Borough.

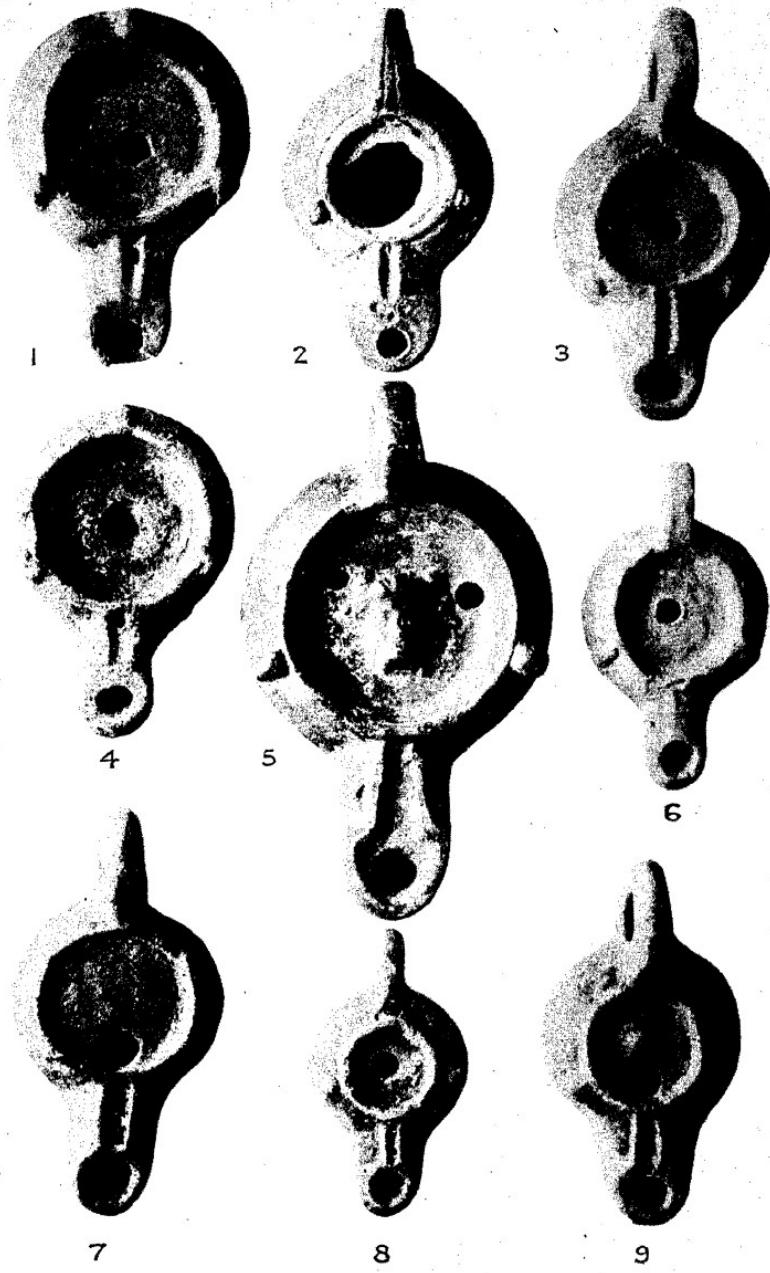
Pl. XXVI, 4 (A 26399). Damaged buff lamp with orange slip; lion on *discus*. Found in Paternoster Row at a depth of 15 ft.

Pl. XXVI, 5 (A 24185). Buff lamp with traces of dark brown slip; the *discus* bears the representation of a beaked galley, with sail and oars and a bird's head at the top of the stern-post. Found in Gracechurch Street "with" marbled Samian ware, presumably of pre-Flavian date. Most of the nozzle is modern. A lamp from Colchester, illustrated in the *Brit. Mus. Guide to Roman Britain*, Fig. 50, bears an identical design apparently from the same mould.

Pl. XXVI, 6 (A 22337). Buff lamp with orange slip; laurel wreath on *discus*. Found in St. Swithin's Lane. The outer part of the nozzle is modern.



Clay lamps of Type II. 2. (See p. 66.)



Clay lamps of Type IIIa. 2. (See p. 67.)

Type IIIa (about A.D. 70-120)

Fig. 15, 3 (A 13981). Orange-brown lamp, with handle, two vestigial lugs at the sides, and nozzle-groove closed at both ends. On the base the stamp STROBILI, i.e. (*ex officina*) Strobili, "from the factory of Strobilus." Found in London Wall.

Lamps bearing the stamps of Strobilus, Fortis, Communis and Echio were found at Pompeii in a box containing a consignment of South Gaulish Samian pottery, and these makers were therefore at work before A.D. 79.

Fig. 15, 4, and Pl. XXVIII, 1 (A 1698). Orange-brown lamp, with two vestigial lugs, and nozzle-groove open at the inner end; the *discus* damaged. On the base the stamp FORTIS. Found in Milk Street (*ex* Hilton Price Collection).

Fortis was already the proprietor of a lamp factory, possibly at Mutina in northern Italy, before A.D. 79 (see under preceding example), and his name continues to appear on lamps during the first half of the 2nd century; for example, at Pfünz on the German Limes a Fortis lamp occurs in a grave not earlier than c. A.D. 130. As indicated above (p. 65), it is probable that the stamp was freely adopted by other potters in the northern provinces. The letter I which stands below the name on the present example is probably the initial of the actual potter. The letter N sometimes appears in this position on Fortis lamps.

Pl. XXVII, 1 (A 24169). Dark buff lamp, with three vestigial lugs, and nozzle-groove closed at both ends. Found in Gracechurch Street.

Pl. XXVII, 2 (A 10595). Light red lamp, with handle, two vestigial lugs, and nozzle-groove closed at both ends; three shallow depressions by the wick-hole. Found in Lombard Street.

Pl. XXVII, 3 (A 1696). Lamp of micaceous buff clay; handle, two vestigial lugs, and nozzle-groove closed at both ends. Found in Broad Street (*ex* Hilton Price Collection).

Pl. XXVII, 4 (A 24173). Roughly made lamp of buff-clay with red slip; three vestigial lugs, and nozzle-groove closed at both ends. Found in Gracechurch Street "with" A 24174-6.

Pl. XXVII, 5 (A 27334). Lamp with chocolate slip; mask (?) of Bacchus, or possibly a Gorgoneion on the discus, handle, two vestigial lugs, and nozzle-groove closed at the inner end (outer end restored). On the base the stamp STROBILI. Found in Leadenhall Street. For Strobilus, see above; the F is probably the initial of the actual potter.

Pl. XXVII, 6 (A 24176). Orange-red lamp, with handle, two vestigial lugs, and very roughly indicated nozzle-groove, closed at the inner end. Found in Gracechurch Street "with" A 24173-5.

Pl. XXVII, 7 (A 16394). Lamp of micaceous buff clay; handle, and nozzle-groove closed at both ends. Found on the site of the General Post Office, St. Martin's-le-Grand.

Pl. XXVII, 8 (A 20368). Orange-buff lamp, with handle, two vestigial lugs, and nozzle-groove closed at both ends. Found in London Wall.

Pl. XXVII, 9 (A 1697). Lamp of micaceous buff clay, with handle, two vestigial lugs, central knob on *discus*, and nozzle-groove closed at both ends.

Pl. XXVIII, 2 (A 24166). Buff lamp, with handle and two vestigial lugs. The base bears an indistinct potter's stamp, EVCARPI. Found in Gracechurch Street.

Eucarpus worked in the latter part of the 1st century A.D. His lamps, all apparently of this type, occur on at least three sites in London and occasionally on the German frontier, as at Neuss and Arnsburg.

Pl. XXVIII, 3 (A 23846). Part of buff lamp with two vestigial lugs. The *discus* and nozzle are damaged, and it is now impossible to say whether the type was III *a* or III *b*. The base (illustrated) bears the potter's stamp, STROBILI, which occurs above on an example of type III *a* (see p. 67). Found in Moorgate Street.

Eleven other lamps of type III *a* are preserved in the Museum. They come from Angel Court (two, one stamped EVCARPI), Bishopsgate, the Minories (stamped FORTIS), the Thames at London, Southwark (four), London Wall, and Gracechurch Street.

Type III b (2nd century A.D.)

Fig. 15, 5 (A 23833). Lamp of Samian ware or terra sigillata, with three vestigial lugs. The base bears the potter's stamp OPTATI. Found at Fresh Wharf (*ex* Amherst Collection). The stamp occurs at Faimingen on the Danubian frontier, but whether the potter worked in the Rhineland or in central Gaul is not at present known.

Pl. XXVIII, 4 (A 20203). Lamp of micaceous buff clay, with three vestigial lugs. Found in London Wall.

Pl. XXVIII, 5 (A 20941). Handled lamp of blackened orange ware, with two vestigial lugs. On the base, indeterminate traces of a very worn potter's stamp. Found on the site of Guy's Hospital, Southwark.

Pl. XXVIII, 6 (A 20942). Buff lamp, with three vestigial lugs. Found in Leadenhall Street.

Pl. XXVIII, 7 (A 24764). Buff lamp, with (broken) handle and two vestigial lugs. The upper part of the nozzle was broken in ancient times and the lamp was subsequently used in its present condition. Found in Moorgate Street.

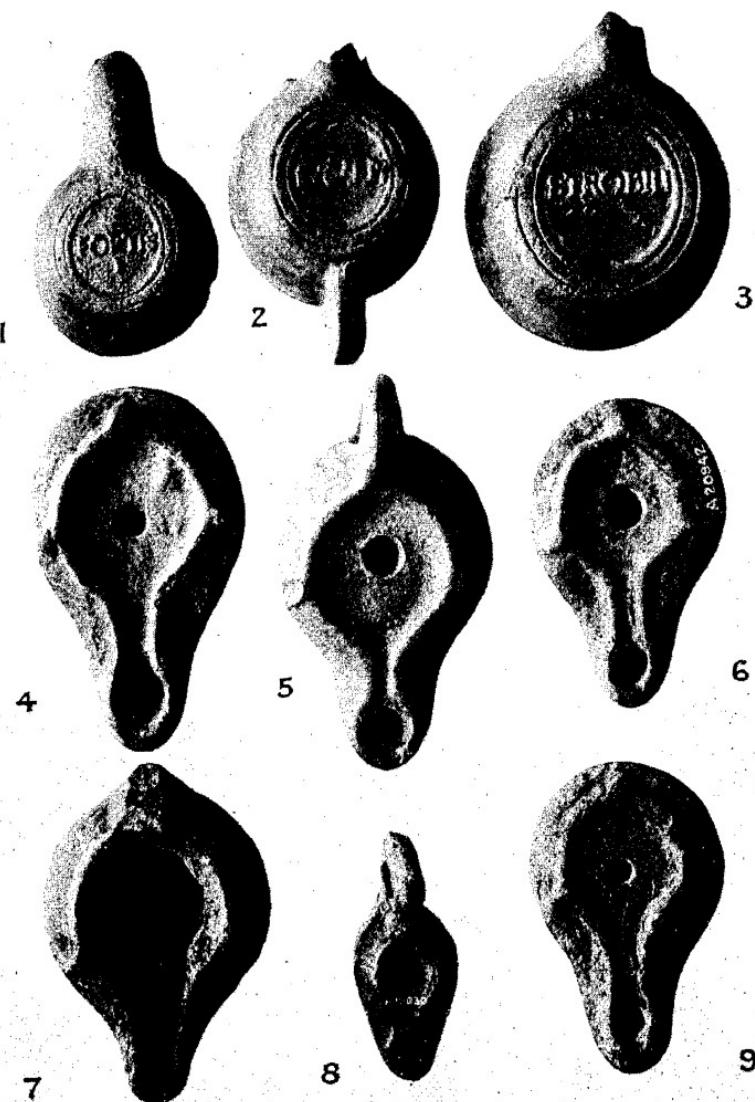
Pl. XXVIII, 8 (A 19830). Small handled lamp of blackened buff clay. Found on the site of the Royal Exchange.

Pl. XXVIII, 9 (A 16889). Roughly made buff lamp, with three vestigial lugs. Found in London (*ex* Ransom Collection).

Type IV (from the late 1st century A.D. onwards)

Fig. 16, 6 (A 10015). Handled lamp with lustrous chocolate slip. Found on the Springfield Estate, Acton, in October 1899, with seven silver coins, respectively of Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan (2), Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus. The lamp may therefore be of early 3rd-century date.

Fig. 16, 7 (A 9932). Buff lamp, with handle and heart-shaped nozzle.



Clay lamps of Types III α and III β . $\frac{2}{3}$. (See pp. 67, 68.)



Clay lamps of Type IV, etc. 2. (See p. 69.)

Found beneath St. Paul's in 1912. The heart-shaped nozzle is thought to be a late feature.

Pl. XXIX, 1 (A 11510). Buff lamp with handle; on the *discus* a rabbit nibbling at a grape-vine. Found in Southwark Street (*ex* R. E. Way Collection).

Pl. XXIX, 2 (A 10594). Orange-buff lamp, with a scorpion on the *discus*. Found in Lombard Street.

Pl. XXIX, 3 (A 11524). Brown lamp with handle; fluted *discus* surrounded by a wreath. Found in Southwark Street (*ex* R. E. Way collection).

Pl. XXIX, 4 (A 1701). Large handled lamp with lustrous maroon slip. Found in London (*ex* Hilton Price Collection). The close similarity of fabric suggests that this lamp may come from the same factory as A 10015, above.

Pl. XXIX, 5 (A 24174). Buff lamp, roughly made. Found in Gracechurch Street, "with" A 24173 and A 24175—6, above.

Miscellanea

Pl. XXIX, 6 (A 1699). Reddish-buff lamp of simple circular form, on plain footstand $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. Found in London (*ex* Hilton Price Collection).

Pl. XXIX, 7 (A 25215). Open lamp, found in the town-ditch, Aldersgate Street. Nozzle partly restored. Open vessels of this type, either in pottery or in metal, were used sometimes as lamps and sometimes as lamp-stands. Many examples which show little or no signs of burning were probably used for the latter purpose.

Other open lamps or lamp-stands of pottery in the collections come from the site of the General Post Office (St. Martin's-le-Grand), Moorgate Street, Fenchurch Street, and the Minories.

Fig. 14, 3 (A 1695). Lamp of micaceous grey clay, with handle and three nozzles. The lamp is a variant of Type III and is probably of late 1st or 2nd century date. Found in Southwark (*ex* Hilton Price Collection). In the filling-hole is inserted a small bone plug (A 25714), found in St. Helen's Place and probably intended for use in this manner, to prevent the oil from spilling and catching fire on the *discus* when the lamp was moved.

7. LOCKS AND KEYS

The simplest way of enabling a door to be bolted or unbolted from the outside is to attach two thongs or cords to the bolt and to pass them through holes in the door; the thongs being so placed that by a pull on one or the other of them the bolt is moved backwards or forwards. An alternative method is to provide an aperture in the door whereby a grappling-hook can be inserted and hooked into a loop of socket on the bolt, which can thus be moved to and fro. These long, slightly curved hooks are not uncommon on late prehistoric sites in this country, and remained to some extent

in use after the Roman conquest. Examples of them may be seen in the Early Iron Age collection in the Museum. They are commonly described as keys, and, though some of them may have been used as simple lever-keys, most of them probably justify the name only to the extent that they are removable handles or hooks for working the bolt of a door.

Apart from this elementary contrivance, keys can be divided into two main classes; those which function by vertical and lateral action ("push-keys" or "slide-keys"), and those which function by rotary or lever-action.

A. The first class is the more primitive, although it is not yet entirely obsolete. It operates in the so-called "tumbler" lock in which a series of small pins tumble into corresponding sockets on the bolt when the latter is thrust home. The key may withdraw the pins from the bolt in one of two ways. It may be of T-shape with the ends of the cross-arm bent back to form a double hook, or of L-shape with a double reverted claw in the same plane as the shaft of the key (see Pl. XXX, 1-4); this hook is passed through a narrow vertical slit in the door and is then turned horizontally so that the reverted ends engage in corresponding slots in the two pins which can then be raised to free the bolt. The bolt itself is then pulled back by means of a cord attachment passed through the door as described above.

An alternative method is to provide the key with vertical prongs coinciding in number and disposition with the tumbler-pins which fall into and secure the bolt (see Pl. XXX, 5-8, and Fig. 16). In this case, the slots penetrate the bolt, and the prongs of the key, inserted through the key-hole, are thrust upwards into them, thereby raising the pins and again freeing the bolt. Since the bolt is thus gripped by the key, a lateral movement of the key will now withdraw it and so unlock the door. In order to provide for the double movement—vertical and lateral—of the key, the key-holes for locks of this kind are **T**-shaped (see Fig. 17).

Both these alternative tumbler-locks (but especially the latter) are obviously capable of almost endless variation in the disposition of the tumblers and the consequent shape of the key. Moreover, the lock itself may vary from the simple

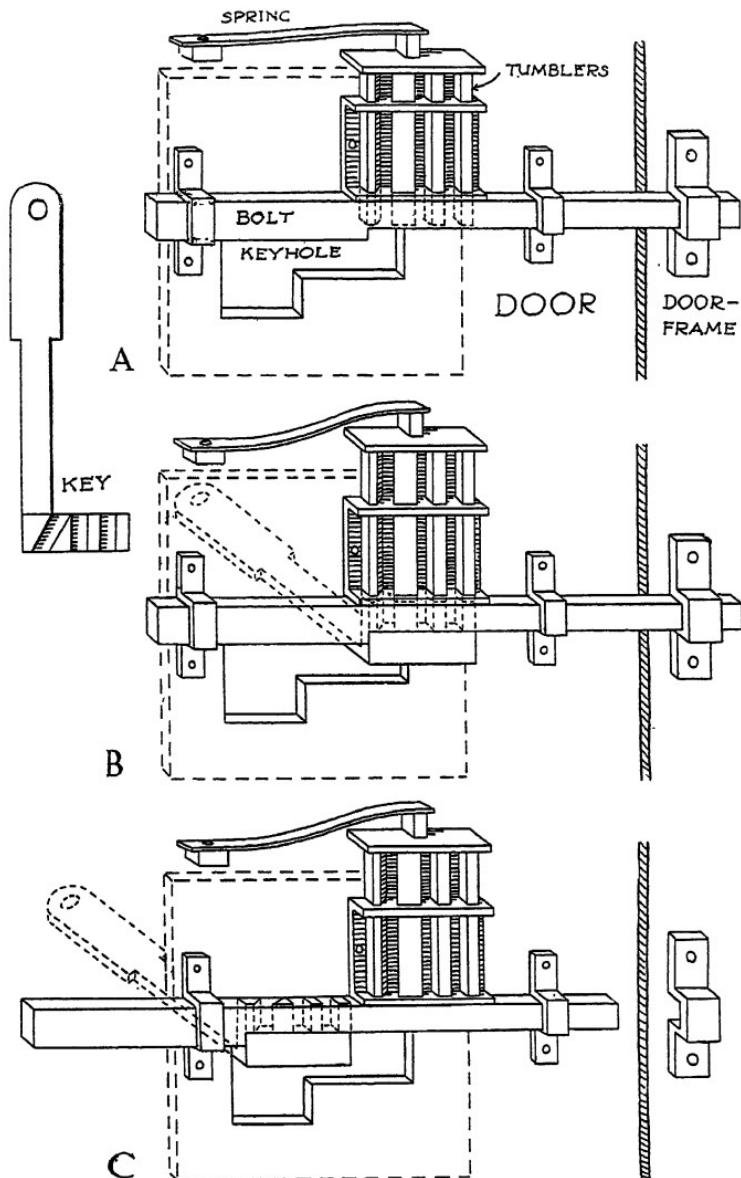


FIG. 16.—Diagram to show working of “tumbler” lock: A, tumblers in position in bolt, thus locking door; B, key raising tumblers clear of bolt; C, key drawing bolt, thus unlocking door.

arrangement whereby the tumblers fall into the bolt merely by force of gravity to the more highly developed and useful varieties in which they are pressed home by a spring. It is obvious that locks which depend entirely upon gravity were useless for movable objects, such as caskets, in which such locks could be freed merely by the act of turning the casket upside down.

B. The rotary- or lever-principle is that upon which all modern locks are based, and the details of these locks do not call for description here. It will suffice to note that, in them, the key pivots on its main axis and by the rotary movement levers the bolt backwards against a spring. Security is provided by introducing into the lock a series of wards or guards which can only be passed by a key of equivalent design.

Both sliding-locks and lever-locks were used at Pompeii before A.D. 79 and the two systems seem to have remained in use, side by side, throughout the Roman period—indeed, the more primitive sliding system has remained in occasional use in Europe down to the present day. There is some indication, however, that the rotary system gained in popularity under the Empire; for example, at the Saalburg, a Roman fort on the German frontier, a gateway, as rebuilt about A.D. 200, seems to have had a lever-lock whereas its predecessor of the previous century had apparently been fitted with a sliding-lock. At Pompeii, the only distinctive feature of the rotary locks was the fact that the shafts of the keys were invariably tubular and rotated upon a small pin projecting from the back of the lock. In this system, it was clearly possible to use the key only on one side of the lock, and, indeed, it is probable that the Romans never invented a lock which was workable from both sides.

The best account of Roman locks is that by L. Jacobi, *Das Rimerkastell Saalburg*, 462 ff.; see also Pitt-Rivers, *Primitive Locks and Keys*.

(i) LOCKS (FIG. 17)

No complete Roman lock is preserved in the Museum, but the escutcheon and bolt (A 1221) from a wooden box found in Finsbury Circus and given by Mr. W. M. Newton are exhibited. The box contained a jug of A.D. 100 or a

little later. The bronze bolt shows the characteristic openings for the pins which formerly secured it and for the prongs of the slide-key which formerly released it. The bronze escutcheon, originally fastened to the box by four cone-headed iron nails, has the usual T-shaped opening to admit the double action of the key (see above). Beside the opening on the exterior of the escutcheon is a small lever which turns an L-shaped shield within and so enables the key-hole to be closed.

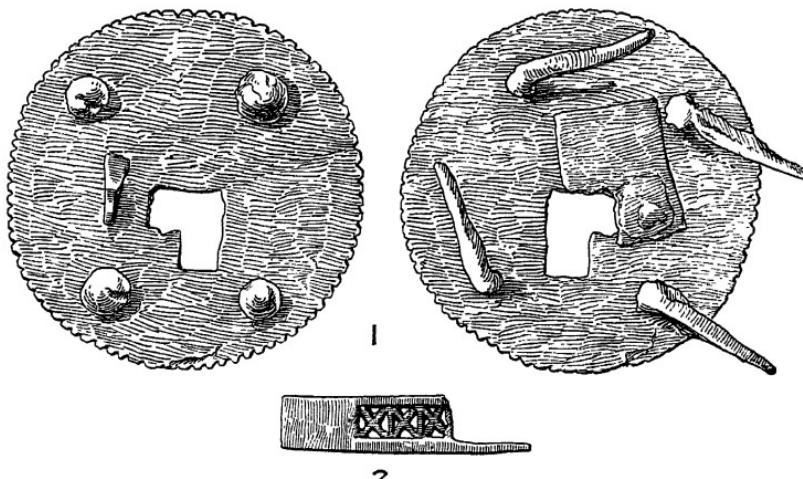


FIG. 17.—Bronze escutcheon and bolt from a box found in Finsbury Circus
½. (See p. 72.)

(ii) KEYS

Of 38 Roman keys from London in the Museum, 21 are of Type A and 17 are of Type B. These figures do not necessarily represent the relative frequency of the two types throughout the Roman period, since the upper and later Roman levels which might have been expected to yield a greater number of the more advanced type have generally been destroyed by medieval and later builders without record.

The keys here illustrated are chosen as representative.

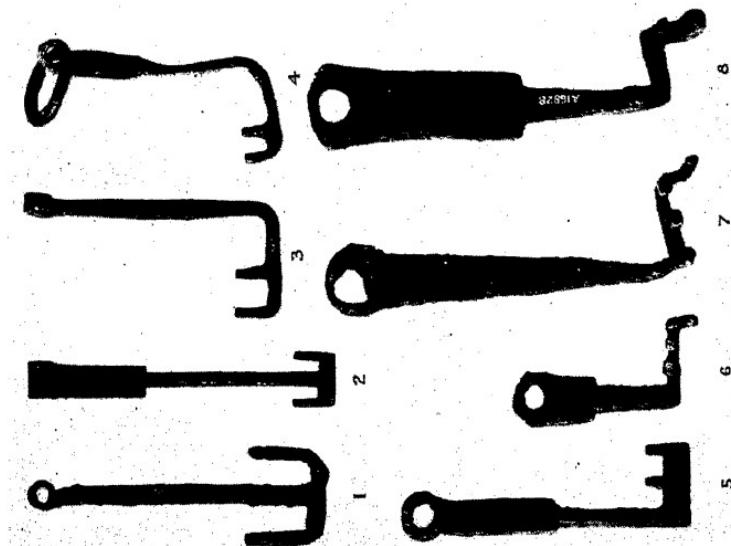
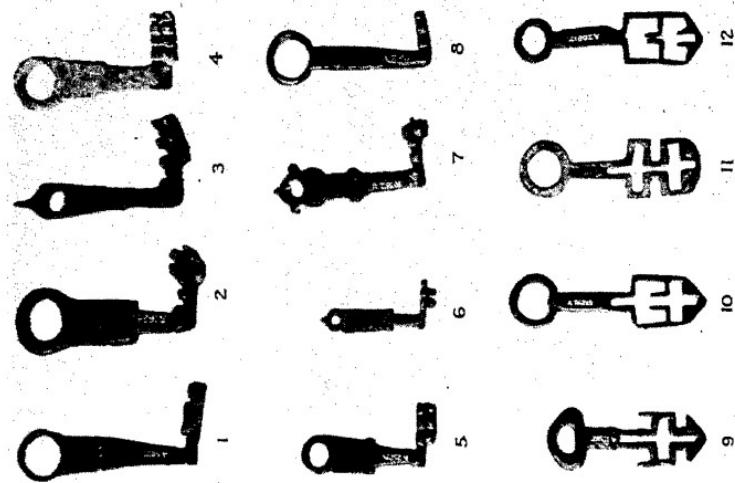
A. SLIDE-KEYS

Pl. XXXA, 1 (A 3124). T-shaped iron slide-key. From Moorgate Street.

- Pl. XXXA, 2 (A 54). T-shaped iron slide-key. From Westminster.
- Pl. XXXA, 3 (A 81). L-shaped iron slide-key. From Angel Court.
- Pl. XXXA, 4 (A 1288). L-shaped iron slide-key. From London. Given by W. M. Newton, Esq.
- Pl. XXXA, 5 (A 1287). L-shaped iron slide-key. From London. Given by W. M. Newton, Esq.,
- Pl. XXXA, 6 (A 4942). Iron slide-key. From Moorgate Street.
- Pl. XXXA, 7 (A 1289). Large iron slide-key. From London. Given by W. M. Newton, Esq.
- Pl. XXXA, 8 (16828). Large iron slide-key. From London. *Ex Ransom Collection.*
- Pl. XXXB, 1 (A 5085). Iron slide-key, with narrow strip of ornamental bronze on handle. From Angel Court.
- Pl. XXXB, 2 (A 16841). Iron slide-key, with unusual circular arrangement of the prongs. From London. *Ex Ransom Collection.*
- Pl. XXXB, 3 (A 5097). Iron slide-key, with double projection on handle, probably to operate a subsidiary catch. From Angel Court.
- Pl. XXXB, 4 (A 1265). Bronze slide-key. From Finsbury Circus. Given by W. M. Newton, Esq.
- Pl. XXXB, 5 (A 25296). Bronze slide-key. Found in Bishopsgate with pottery (see Pl. LXI) of about A.D. 100.
- Pl. XXXB, 6 (A 25632). Bronze slide-key, with double projection on handle, probably to operate a subsidiary catch. From Cornhill.
- Pl. XXXB, 7 (A 25601). Bronze slide-key, with double projection on handle (see preceding). From Tooley Street, Southwark.
- Pl. XXXB, 8 (A 12145). Bronze slide-key. From London.

B. LEVER-KEYS

- Pl. XXXB, 9 (A 2382). Bronze lever-key. Found in London.
- Pl. XXXB, 10 (A 26219). Bronze lever-key. Found in Thames Street.
- Pl. XXXB, 11 (A 1266). Bronze lever-key. Found in Smithfield.
- Pl. XXXB, 12 (A 20817). Iron lever-key. Found in the Steelyard.
- Pl. XXXI, 1 (A 2384). Bronze lever-key, with tubular shank. From London.
- Pl. XXXI, 2 (A 11882). Similar. From the Old Bailey.
- Pl. XXXI, 3 (A 2382). Similar. From London.
- Pl. XXXI, 4 (A 14923). Similar. From Eldon Street.
- Pl. XXXI, 5 (A 2383). Similar. From London.
- Pl. XXXI, 6 (A 11331). Bronze lever-key, with solid shank and damaged projection on loop, possibly to operate a subsidiary catch. From the King's Head, Southwark.

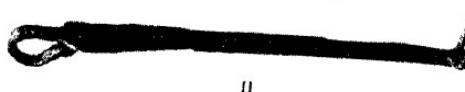
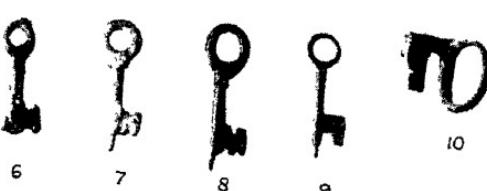


A. Slide-keys. 1. (See pp. 70, 73, 74.)

B. 1-8, slide-keys; 9-12, rotary keys. 1. (See p. 74.)

PLATE XXXI.

[To face p. 75.]



1-9, Rotary keys; 10, rotary ring-key; 11-14, hasps
from locks. $\frac{1}{3}$. (See pp. 74, 75.)

Pl. XXXI, 7 (A 11332). Bronze lever-key, with solid tapering shank. From the King's Head, Southwark.

Pl. XXXI, 8 (A 2381). Bronze lever-key, with solid tapering shank. From Newgate Street.

Pl. XXXI, 9 (A 14978). Bronze lever-key, with solid, tapering shank. From Eldon Street.

Pl. XXXI, 10 (A 1270). Combined finger-ring and lever-key of bronze. From Finsbury Circus.

(iii) HASPS FROM LOCKS

Pl. XXXI, 11 (A 2378). Iron hasp. From the town-ditch at Newgate.

Pl. XXXI, 12 (A 2379). Iron hasp. From London.

Pl. XXXI, 13 (A 24828). Iron hasp. From the town-ditch in Aldersgate Street.

Pl. XXXI, 14 (A 2380). Iron hasp. From London.

8. TOOLS

Many of the tools used by the joiner or the carpenter, the mason and the smith, have altered little since the Early Iron Age, and it is sometimes difficult, therefore, to ascribe individual examples to a definite period. The difficulty is significant; the anxiously competitive methods of warfare encourage and are encouraged by continual change in the implements of war, whereas the comparatively elementary needs of the craftsman are almost as unchanging as his materials and his purpose. It is not easy to point to a single tool which the Romans can be said to have invented. But they were tool-users on an unprecedented scale, and in Roman cities such as London their tools are found in very considerable numbers. Only typical examples are here illustrated. For more ample accounts of the equipment of the Roman craftsmen, reference may be made to the following descriptions: R. C. Neville, "A Deposit of Roman Antiquities of Iron," in *The Archaeological Journal*, XIII (1856), 1 ff.; J. Evans, "On Some Iron Tools found at Silchester," in *Archaeologia*, LIV (1893), 139 ff.; J. Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post* (Newstead), 277 ff.; B. Champion in *Revue archéologique*, 1916, 211 ff., copied in *Catalogue illustré du musée des antiquités nationales* (S. Germain-en-Laye), I, 258 ff.; L. Jacobi, *Das Römerkastell*

Saalburg, 204, 437, etc.; and *Der Obergermanisch-Raetische Limes*, Lief. XXXII, Kastell Zugmantel, 98 ff.

Fig. 18 (29.122). Iron socketed chisel. From the bank of the Walbrook, Poultry. Similar chisels found at Newstead in Scotland date from the end of the 1st century A.D.

Pl. XXXII, 1 (A 1897). Iron chisel. From Angel Court.

Pl. XXXII, 2 (A 2702). Iron chisel, with tang for handle of wood or bone. From Moorgate Street.

Pl. XXXII, 3 (A 2702). Iron chisel, with tang. From Moorgate Street.

Pl. XXXII, 4 (A 11942). Iron chisel, with horizontal groove below tang. From Angel Court.

Pl. XXXII, 5 (A 2040). Iron chisel or modelling tool, with grooved shaft and broad tang. From Moorgate Street.

Pl. XXXII, 6 (A 2468). Iron socketed and pointed chisel. From London Wall.

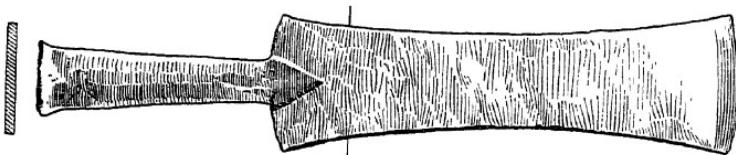


FIG. 18.—Socketed iron chisel from Poultry. $\frac{1}{3}$. (See p. 76.)

Pl. XXXII, 7 (29.94). Iron gouge or auger, with pointed butt, of quadrangular section, for insertion into the handle. Found at the corner of Poultry and Princes Street. Similar examples were in use at Newstead at the end of the 1st century A.D.

Pl. XXXII, 8 (A 84). Iron gouge with squared butt flattened by hammering. From Coptfall Court.

Pl. XXXII, 9 (A 47). Iron borer formed from a sharpened nail strung with leather "washers" to form a grip. From Coptfall Court.

Pl. XXXII, 10 (A 4919). Iron awl or bit, stamped on the butt with the maker's name TITVLI. From London Wall.

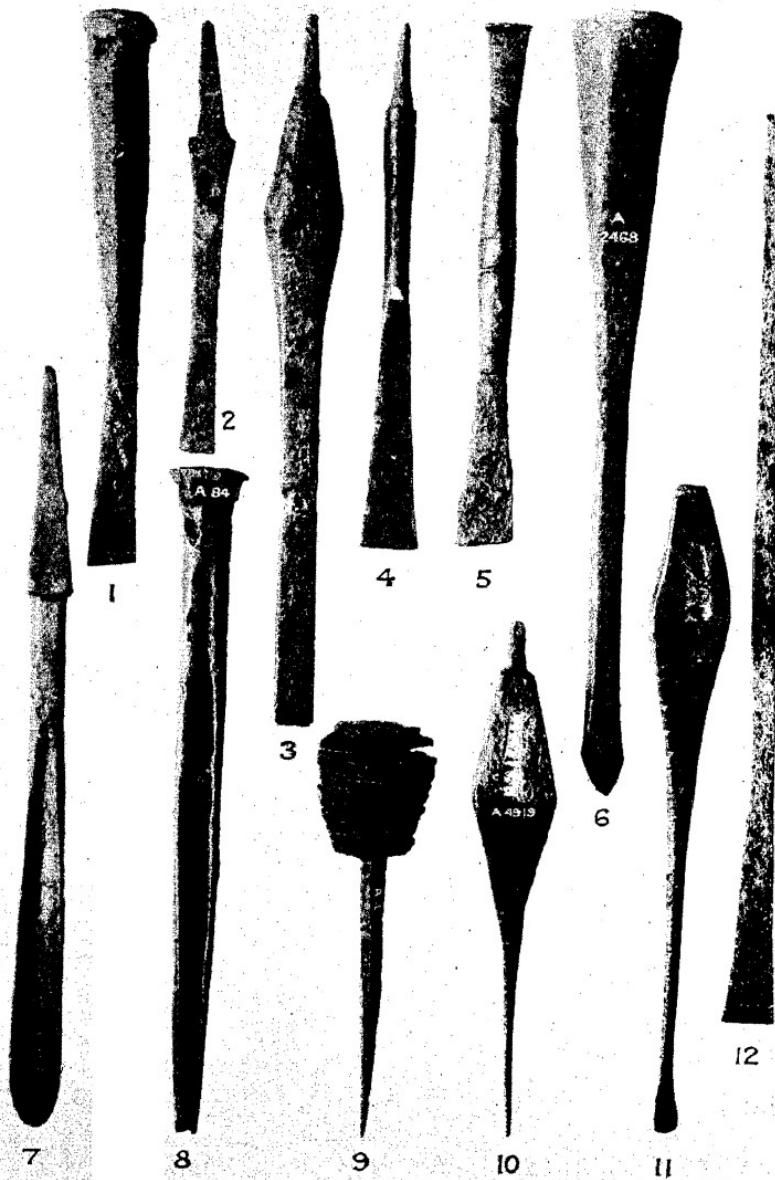
Pl. XXXII, 11 (A 1893). Iron awl or bit stamped on the butt with incomplete maker's name which has "jumped" in the process of stamping: .INI . . (?). From Moorgate Street.

Pl. XXXII, 12 (A 2575). Slender bronze chisel (?). From Moorgate Street.

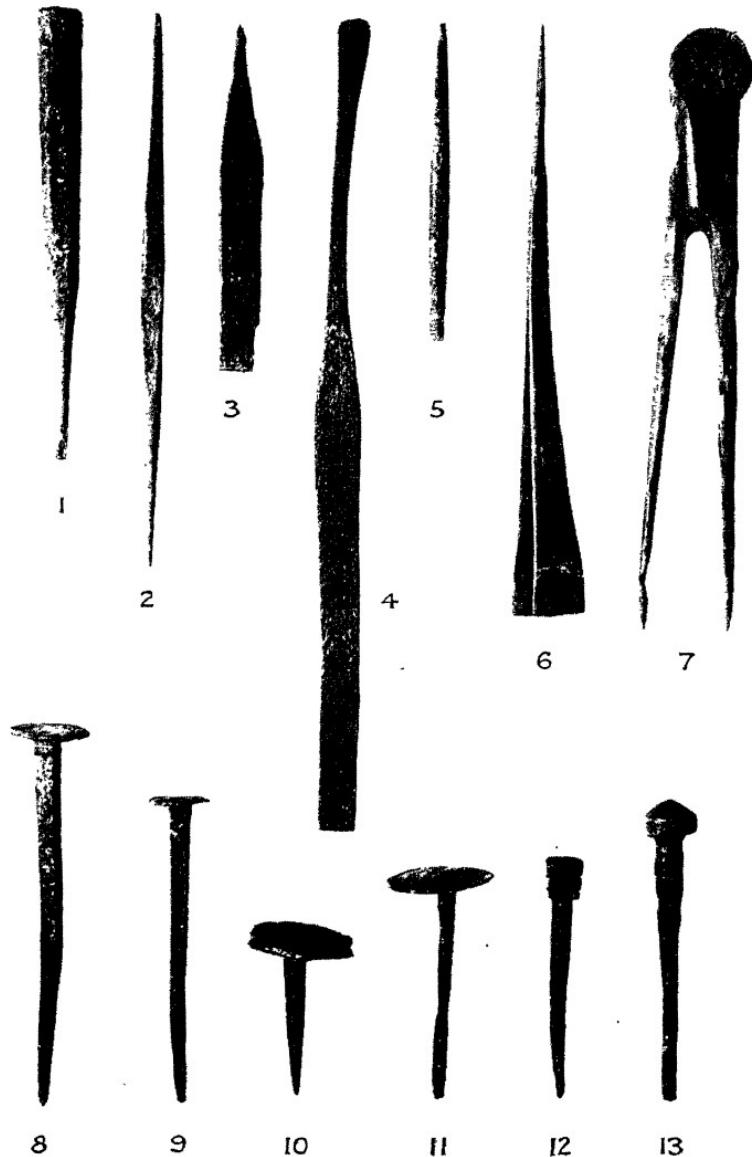
Pl. XXXIII, 1 (A 2029). Iron punch. From Moorgate Street.

Pl. XXXIII, 2 (A 176). Iron awl. From Angel Court.

Pl. XXXIII, 3 (29.94). Iron file. From Princes Street.



Tools of iron and bronze. ½. (See p. 76.)



Iron tools and nails. 2. (See p. 77.)

Pl. XXXIII, 4 (A 49). Iron file. From Angel Court. Files of this kind occur at Newstead (ditch of the 1st-century fort), the Saalburg, and elsewhere

Pl. XXXIII, 5 (A 29.94). Circular iron file. From Princes Street.

Pl. XXXIII, 6 (A 95). Iron tweezers. From Angel Court.

Pl. XXXIII, 7 (A 20891). Iron dividers. From Leadenhall Street.

Pl. XXXIII, 8 (A 130). Iron nail, of square section with circular head. From Cophall Court.

Pl. XXXIII, 9 (A 129). Iron nail, of square section with circular head. From Cophall Court.

Pl. XXXIII, 10 (A 63). Iron nail, of roughly squared section with large circular head. From Cophall Court.

Pl. XXXIII, 11 (A 24067). Bronze nail, of square section with large circular head. From Miles Lane.

Pl. XXXIII, 12 (A 3029). Iron nail or pin, of circular section with square grooved head. From Thames Street.

Pl. XXXIII, 13 (A 69). Iron nail, of square section with circular coned head. From Cophall Court.

Pl. XXXIV, 1, 2 (C 787 and A 10994). Two large iron axes or choppers with split sockets, found respectively at Walthamstow and in the Thames near London. The circumstances under which these implements were found does not indicate their date; they are tools (probably of a woodman or a carpenter) of a kind which may have remained constant for many centuries. The type is included amongst those of Gallo-Roman tools (B. Champion, *Revue archéologique*, 1916, 211 ff. No. 15890 A; and S. Reinach, *Catalogue illustré du Musée des Antiquités nationales*, I, 263), and was found in a Roman villa at Alresford, Essex (Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, III, 232). The small circular projection at the upper corner of the blade of the Thames example may be derived from an earlier loop for suspension, such as occurs on the small hook-knife illustrated as No. 3 on the same plate.

Pl. XXXIV, 3 (A 27592). Small iron hook-knife, with remains of small projecting loop on blade, and socket split save for the lowest half-inch. The socket retains part of the wooden handle. Found in St. Helen's Place. The type is included amongst those of Gallo-Roman tools referred to above, and in varying sizes is not uncommon on Roman sites (e.g. Newstead in Scotland). The present example is unusually small.

Pl. XXXIV, 4 (A 2684). Small iron hook-knife or sickle. Found in London (*ex* Hilton Price Collection).

Pl. XXXIV, 5 (C 729). Iron spud of a type which lasted from the prehistoric Iron Age to the Middle Ages. The present example, found in the Wandle at Wandsworth, may or may not be Roman, but the type occurs frequently on Roman sites.

Pl. XXXIV, 6 (A 43). Iron hook, possibly a boat-hook. Found in Angel Court.

Pl. XXXIV, 7 (A 19538). Iron axe-hammer of common Roman type, with square lugs above and below the socket. Found in the Thames at Brentford.

Pl. XXXIV, 8 (C 788). Iron axe-hammer of a common Roman type which lasted into post-Roman times, and, slightly more curved, became the Frankish throwing-axe. Found at Walthamstow. Given by Dr. F. Corner.

Fig. 19, 1 (A 28566). Iron knife, with decorated bone grip. Found in Tokenhouse Yard.

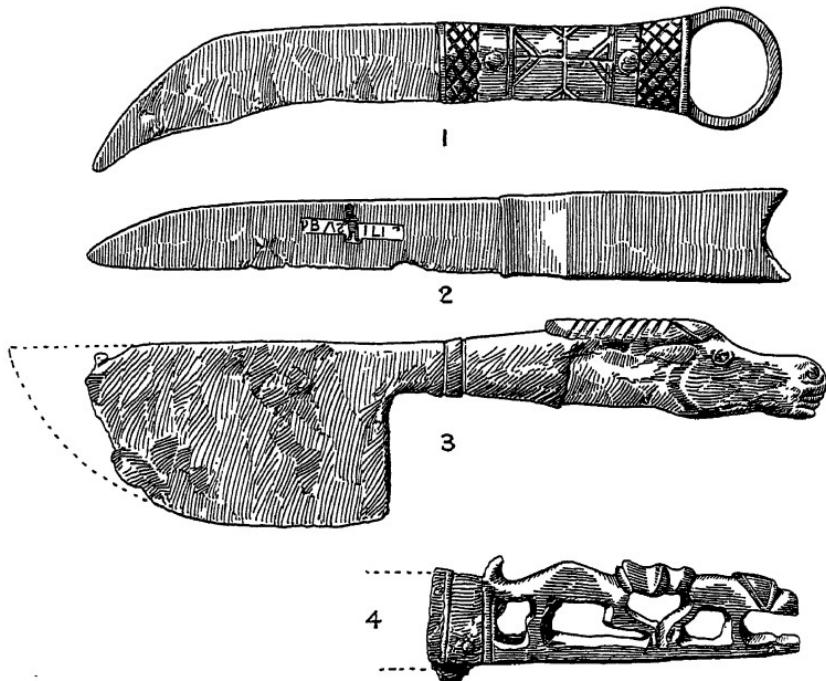


FIG. 19.—Knives: 1, of iron with bone grip, from Tokenhouse Yard; 2, of iron with maker's name, from Moorgate Street; 3, of bronze, from Crutched Friars; 4, bronze handle of clasp-knife from the Thames at Hammersmith. $\frac{2}{3}$. (See p. 78.)

Fig. 19, 2 (A 4687). Iron knife, with handle in one piece. Found in Moorgate Street. On the blade is the maker's stamp, BASILI[S]; between the first S and the I is the small figure of a man. The stamp occurs on another knife-blade (from Lothbury) in the Museum, and is found on a third knife, also from London, in the British Museum.

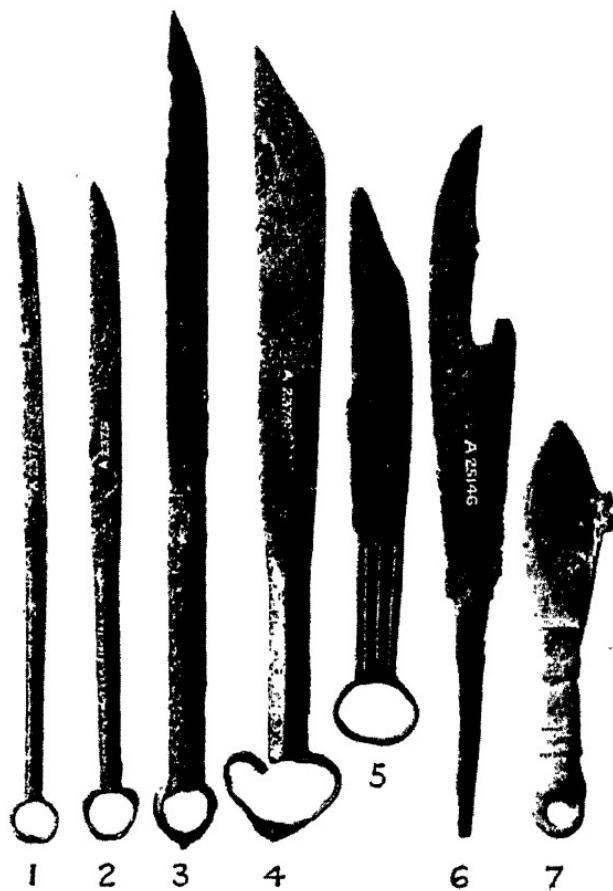
Fig. 19, 3 (A 11872). Bronze knife, with handle in one piece and terminating in an antelope's head. Found in Crutched Friars.

Fig. 19, 4 (A 10479). Bronze handle of a clasp-knife. The handle repre-



Iron tools. 1. (See pp. 77, 78.)

PLATE XXXV.



Knives : 1-6, of iron ; 7, of bronze. $\frac{3}{5}$. (See p. 79.)

sents the common Roman motif of a dog pursuing a hare or rabbit. From the Thames at Hammersmith.

Pl. XXXV, 1 (A 2377) Slender iron knife, possibly razor, with blade and handle in one piece. Found in London (*ex* Hilton Price Collection).

Pl. XXXV, 2 (A 2375). Similar iron knife or razor, found in London (*ex* Hilton Price Collection).

Pl. XXXV, 3 (A 71). Iron knife of similar type but larger. Found in Angel Court.

Pl. XXXV, 4 (A 2374). Similar iron knife. Found in London (*ex* Hilton Price Collection).

Pl. XXXV, 5 (A 28341). Iron knife, in one piece with grooved and ringed handle. From Tokenhouse Yard.

Pl. XXXV, 6 (A 25146). Two-edged iron knife, with curiously knicked blade. Found at the bottom of the Roman deposit in Angel Court, and probably therefore of early Roman date.

Pl. XXXV, 7 (A 15446). Bronze knife in one piece with ringed handle. On the back of the blade are remains of a loop. From the River Wandle at Wandsworth.

Pl. XXXVI, 1 (A 28565). Small crescent-shaped iron knife, possibly razor, with cutting edge on concave side; on the blade an indistinct maker's mark. Found in the Walbrook valley near the Mansion House.

Pl. XXXVI, 2 (A 19919). Iron knife, from Great Winchester Street. This curved type was already in use at least as early as La Tène II (about 300-100 B.C.).

Pl. XXXVI, 3 (A 70). Iron knife. Found in Angel Court. This also is an Early Iron Age type.

Pl. XXXVI, 4 (A 1906). Iron knife with broad looped tang forming centre of handle. Found in Moorgate Street.

Pl. XXXVI, 5 (27.88). Iron saw. Found near the Bank of England.

Pl. XXXVI, 6 (A 27343). Iron saw. Found in London Wall.

Pl. XXXVI, 7 (A 19063). Small iron knife. Found in London.

9. SURGICAL AND TOILET INSTRUMENTS

From the time of Hippocrates (fifth century B.C.), who was held to be either the seventeenth or the nineteenth in direct descent from Aesculapius the god of Healing, the Greeks are known to have devoted much attention to the art of healing, and it was from Greece that the Romans acquired much of their own knowledge of the art; indeed, the Roman doctors were often themselves of Greek origin. Like many "professional men" in the Roman world, they were not infrequently

either slaves or ex-slaves (freemen), but, the supply being inadequate, Julius Caesar attracted foreign physicians to Rome by granting them citizenship, an act which may have tended to raise the general status of the vocation. By the first century A.D. Pliny was able to refer to "a crowd of doctors" (*turba medicorum*), and the frequent discovery of surgical equipment, apothecaries' stamps, etc., on Roman sites gives force to his words.

Instruments found in a physician's house at Pompeii and several "hoards" of obviously surgical instruments in other Roman buildings and in graves indicate the general character of the Roman doctor's equipment. It is not always easy, however, to determine whether a particular instrument was used exclusively for surgical purposes or whether it may also have had other uses, for example, in connection with the toilet. Certain of the instruments described in the present section, therefore, are included with this reservation. For the subject generally, see J. S. Milne, *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times*.

Only representative implements from the large series in the Museum are here illustrated.

(i) SPATULA-PROBES OR SPATHOMELAE

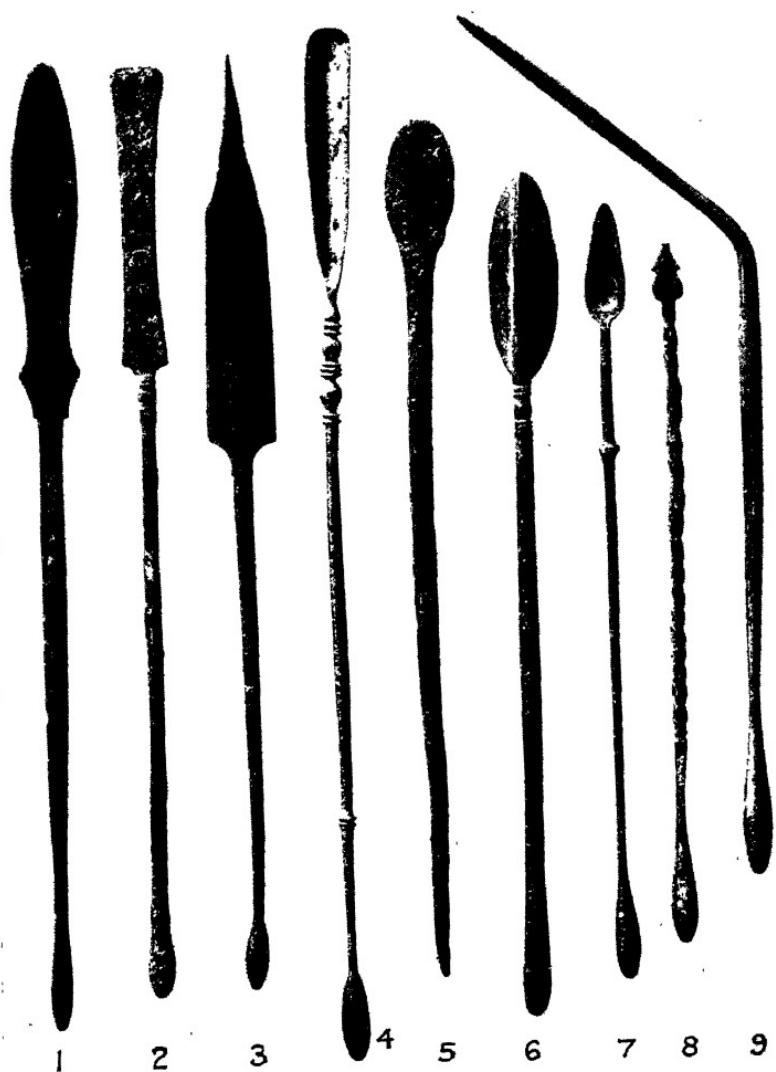
This common type of instrument consists of a long shaft, occasionally moulded, with a swollen or olive-shaped point at one end and a spatula at the other. The olive-shaped end was used alternatively as a probe and as a small pestle for stirring medicaments; whilst the broad end, whether flat or hollowed, was used for applying them. Classical medical writers refer to both these uses, but it is equally certain that similar instruments were used for non-medical purposes; for example, two were found with colour-pots and small mortars in the grave of a Romano-Celtic artist in the Vendée, and had clearly been used for mixing colours.

The broad end of the instrument was sometimes used for depressing the tongue. Thus Aetius (sixth century A.D., collecting earlier writers) says: "In inflammation of the throat in adults, seat the patient, open his mouth and depress the tongue with a tongue-depressor or a spathomela, and open



Iron knives and saws. (See p. 79.)

PLATE XXXVII.



Surgical instruments. 2. (See p. 81.)

the abscess with a scalpel or a needle-knife." Perhaps the more effective type of tongue-depressor is represented by the intentionally curved spatula below (A 25037).

Pl. XXXVII, 1 (A 16764). Flat-bladed spatula of bronze. From London.

Aetius indicates that the blunt blade of instruments of this kind was sometimes used as a blunt dissector and, heated, for cauterisation.

Pl. XXXVII, 2 (A 17947). Flat-bladed spatula of bronze. From the Royal Exchange.

Pl. XXXVII, 3 (A 16767). Flat-bladed and pointed spatula of bronze. From London.

In addition to the point, this spatula is exceptional in having sharp lateral edges, and is well suited for rough dissections.

Pl. XXXVII, 4 (A 1277). Spoon-bladed spatula of bronze. From Finsbury Circus.

This common type of instrument must have been used also for many other than medical purposes.

Pl. XXXVII, 5 (A 11942). Flat-bladed spatula of iron. From Angel Court.

Pl. XXXVII, 6 (A 14426). Spoon-shaped spatula of white metal, with "Rat-tailed" back to the bowl (shown in the illustration). From Tooley Street, Southwark.

Pl. XXXVII, 7 (A 16770). Small spoon-shaped spatula of bronze. From London.

Pl. XXXVII, 8 (A 1279). Bronze probe with small flattened end for the application of semi-solid medicaments. From Finsbury Circus.

Pl. XXXVII, 9 (A 25037). Bronze tongue-depressor, with flat pierced blade bent intentionally at an angle to the stem. From Angel Court.

(ii) SCALPELS

Pl. XXXVIII, 1 (A 16817). Scalpel or bistoury with bronze handle and expanded or "bellied" iron blade. From London.

The handle ends in a leaf-shaped spatula for blunt dissection. Expanded blades of this type are referred to by Hippocrates; and instruments identical with the present example are shown on a stone relief from the temple of *Æsculapius* on the Acropolis at Athens, and have been found at Pompeii and elsewhere.

Pl. XXXVIII, 2 (A 27976). Bronze scalpel. From Fenchurch Street.

Pl. XXXVIII, 3 (27.95). Composite iron instrument made in one piece, the handle ending in a circular spoon-bowl and the blade (broken) having a knife-edge on the one side and a saw-edge on the other. From Tokenhouse Yard.

This instrument is of unusual type, but was almost certainly intended for surgical purposes.

(iii) LIGULAE

Ligulae are found in considerable numbers on Roman sites. They consist normally of a long stem with a small flat or cupped circular expansion at one end. Most of them were used probably for extracting salves and ointment from boxes in connection with the toilet; but examples are also found with definitely medical instruments and were evidently sometimes used for surgical purposes, as *specilla* or probes. They may also have been used as ear-scoops.

Pl. XXXVIII, 4 (A 1340). Bronze ligula. From Finsbury Circus.

Pl. XXXVIII, 5 (A 16772). Bronze ligula. From London.

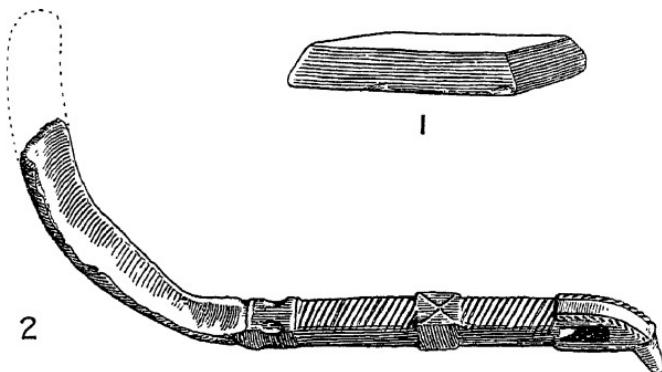


FIG. 20.—Marble palette from London; iron strigil from Princes Street.
½. (See p. 83.)

Pl. XXXVIII, 6 (A 975). Bronze ligula. From Moorgate Street.

The stem is pierced near the expanded end. The use of eyed probes is referred to by the Greek medical writer Paulus Aegineta (about A.D. 600) in connection with the treatment of nasal polypus (see Milne, as cited, p. 57).

Pl. XXXVIII, 7 (A 17362). Bone ligula. From Moorgate Street.

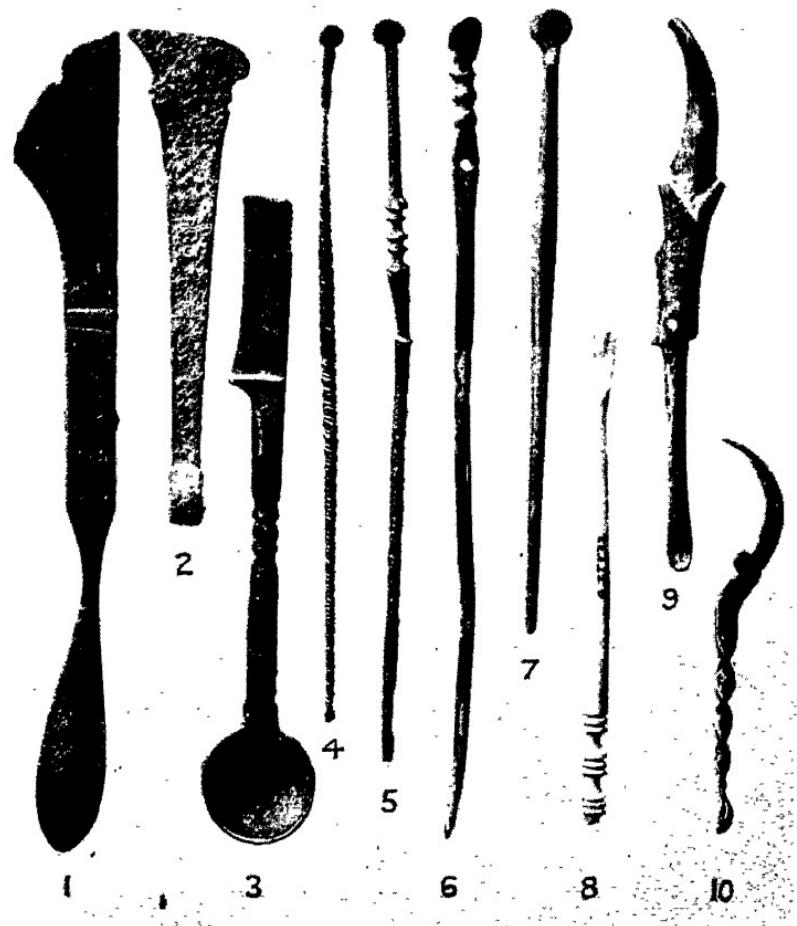
Pl. XXXVIII, 8 (A 27732). Bone ligula. From Clements Lane.

(iv) TOILET INSTRUMENTS, ETC.

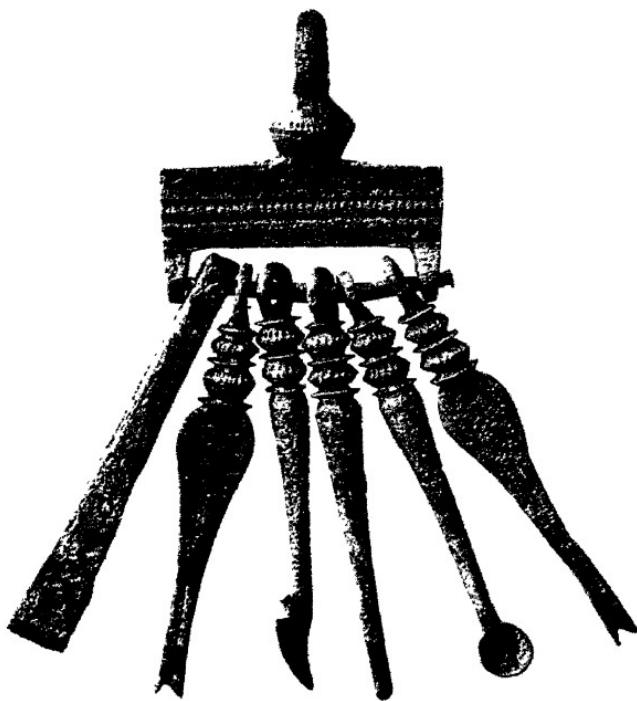
It has been remarked above that certain of the instruments classed as "surgical" may equally well have been used for the toilet or other purposes. In certain cases it is possible to identify toilet instruments with greater certainty.

Pl. XXXVIII, 9 (A 16848). Bone instrument, with point in the form of a lion's claw, and handle with ligula-terminal. From London.

Probably for cleaning the finger-nails and for extracting ointment, etc.



Surgical and toilet instruments. 3. (See pp. 81, 82.)



Bronze chatelaine from London Wall. 1. (See p. 82.)

Pl. XXXVIII, 10 (29.156). Bronze instrument of similar type to preceding, and likewise derived from a lion's claw prototype. From London.

Pl. XXXIX (A 20136). Bronze chatelaine, with tweezers, nail-cleaners and ear-scoop. From London Wall.

Fig. 20, 1 (A 6464). Small palette of white marble. From London. Palettes of this kind are not uncommon on Roman sites. They were used for mixing pastes, salves and the like; some of them bear on their bevelled edges the stamps of the oculists who were active in the preparation of various ointments for use in the eyes. The larger surface of the stone (the under-side as illustrated) was that used for the purpose, but a complete example in the Provincial Museum of Bonn indicates that the palette, when not in use, was inserted, in the position shown, into a grooved metal frame with a hemispherical recess on its lower side, either to catch the surplus ointment or to contain the necessary ingredients (see *Bonner Jahrbücher* 111/112, "Novæsum," p. 401).

Fig. 20, 2 (29.94). Iron strigil. From Princes Street. The strigil was used in the classical world by athletes for scraping sand and oil off their bodies, or by bathers in the "Turkish" baths of the period for scraping dirt and sweat from the body.

10. FOOT-RULES

Fig. 21, 1 (29.94). A foot-rule of normal Roman type but in exceptionally fine condition; the bronze is still yellow and unpatinated. The rule is hinged in the centre, and, when extended, is kept rigid by a clamp which locks on to two studs. The upper and lower surfaces of the rule are slightly wider than the sides; the upper is divided by punctuations into sixteen *digitii*, the lower into four *palmi*. Of the sides, one is divided into twelve *unciae*, the other is undivided save by the central hinge. The subdivisions of the rule thus, as usual, represent two units of measurement: first, the Greek, based upon the *digittus*, which was one-quarter of a *palma* and one-sixteenth of a *pes* or foot; secondly, the Italian based upon the *uncia* or one-twelfth of a foot, the precursor of the modern inch. The normal Roman foot (as calculated from actual rules, from models on certain funerary sculptures, and from the dimensions of buildings), was 29·5 centimetres, or 11·6 inches, in length, and the present example tallies exactly with that measurement. (In Cyrenaica, Germany and Gaul, feet measuring respectively 30·8, 33·2 and 32·4 centimetres were also in use. See Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, s.v. *Pes*). The subdivisions on this, as on most other Roman rules, are very inaccurately spaced. The *digitii*, which should each be 1·85 centimetres, vary from 1·65 to 2·1 centimetres, whilst the *unciae*, which should be 2·45 inches, vary from 2·2 to 2·6 inches.

Found on the western edge of the Walbrook valley, in Princes Street, adjoining the Bank of England.

Fig. 21, 2 (A 20150). Ox-bone marked roughly by horizontal incisions into four- or five-inch scales. Found in London Wall.

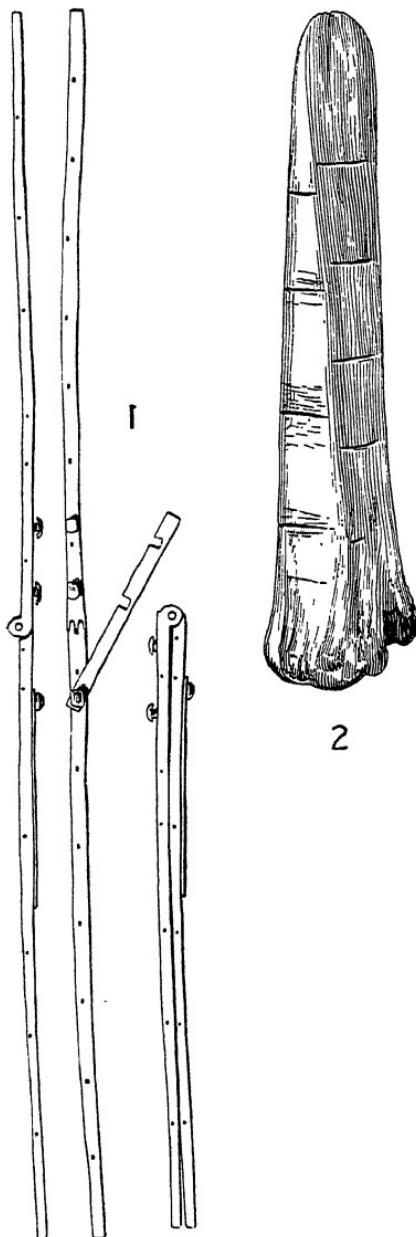


FIG. 21.—1, Bronze foot-rule from Princes Street; 2, ox-bone graduated in inches, from London Wall. $\frac{1}{2}$. (See p. 83.)

II. WEIGHING-INSTRUMENTS

For weighing, the Romans used the balance (*libra*) and the steelyard (*statera*). The balance was commonly of simple

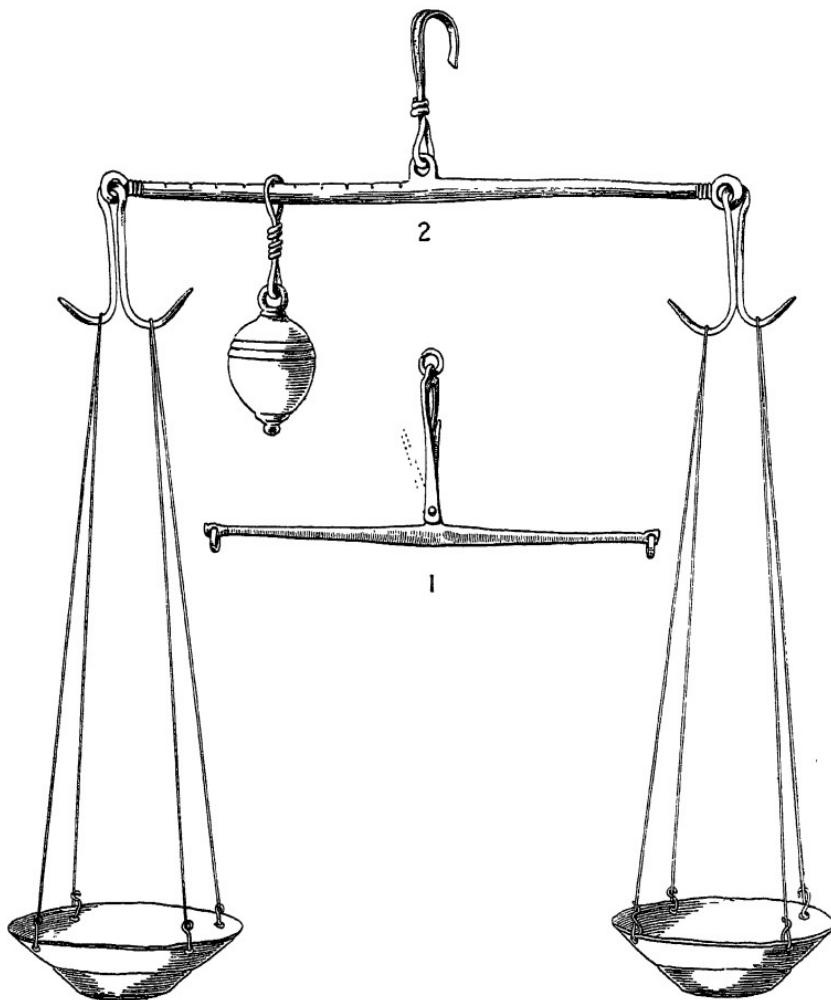


FIG. 22.—1, Bronze scale-beam from Finsbury Circus; 2, bronze scale-beam (weight restored) found near the Mansion House, with scale-pan from London Wall. $\frac{1}{2}$. (See p. 86.)

modern type with equal arms, sometimes a central needle-indicator, and a pair of scale-pans in one of which known

weights were set against the unknown weight contained by the other. This instrument seems to have been the only one known to the Greeks, but the Romans at least as frequently used the steelyard, in which both the point of suspension and the object to be weighed are close to one end of the beam, and a weight is moved along the graduated longer arm until equilibrium is obtained. Sometimes the balance and the steelyard are combined, one of the equal arms of the balance

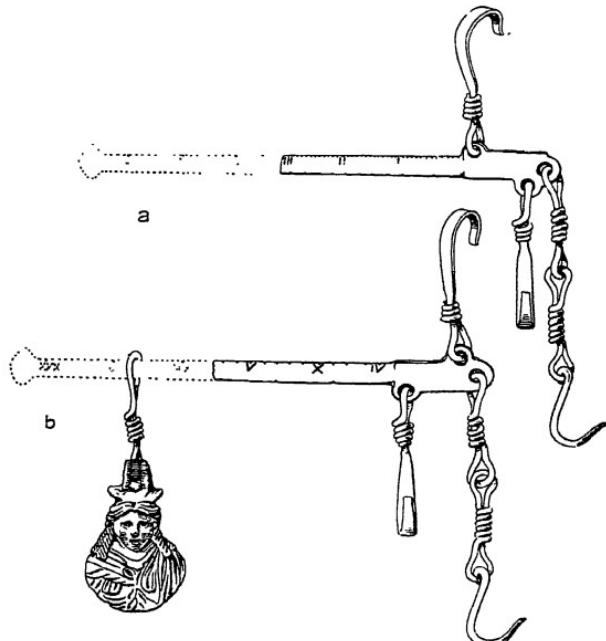


FIG. 23.—Bronze steelyard from Austin Friars, with weight found elsewhere in London. $\frac{1}{2}$. (See p. 87.)

being graduated and a small sliding weight attached, so that fractions of the ounce might be read off without multiplying the number of small weights.

A single example of each of these three types of instrument will serve to illustrate a great number of more or less fragmentary specimens from London.

Fig. 22, 1 (A 10184). Balance of simple type with needle-indicator. From Hinsbury Circus. Given by W. M. Newton, Esq.

Fig. 23 (A 1272). Steelyard. From Austin Friars. Part of the longer end of the arm is missing, but can be restored with certainty. At the shorter end is the hook for suspending the object to be weighed, and two hooks for suspending the instrument itself. These two hooks correspond with two scales marked respectively on the two edges of the longer arm. When the instrument is suspended from the hook next to the longer arm, as in (a), the scale then uppermost indicated up to six pounds (*librae*) by the numerals I to VI, the twelve ounces (*unciae*) of each Roman pound being marked by intermediate punctuations. Objects of 6 to 30 pounds in weight were weighed by reversing the steelyard as in (b), so that it was suspended by the hook next to the butt. The scale which was thus turned uppermost begins with the figure VI and marks each pound, the subsequent numerals being placed at X, V (*i.e.* XV), and so on. The sliding weight—which often took the form of a human bust—is missing; that shown in Fig. 23 was found elsewhere in London, but is too light for the present steelyard. (For this weight, see Pl. XIX, 9, and p. 47.)

Fig. 22, 2 (27.89) is a combined balance and steelyard, found in the Walbrook valley near the Mansion House, and in excellent preservation. One of the equal arms is subdivided by transverse incisions into 12 parts so that, by moving a small weight (now missing; restored in the drawing) along it, fractions below half an ounce (12 scruples or *scripula*) could be registered without the use of separate small weights. The scale-pans illustrated in this figure are adapted from a specimen (A 2478) found in London Wall.

12. BROOCHES

Roman brooches or fibulae were of two main types: one based upon the principle of the safety-pin, the other upon that of a pin sliding upon an open ring—the so-called penannular type. Both types are represented in the Museum, but the former is of considerably greater interest.

Of the great number of Roman brooches found in London, those dating from the first generation of the occupation have a special importance. The great majority of the Roman brooches from Britain belong to the period following the general settlement of the country during the governorship of Agricola (A.D. 77–84). But by that time Roman London had already been twice built, and the lower strata of the settlement have therefore (in the absence of adequate excavation in the contemporary cities of Colchester and Verulam) yielded a greater proportion of early brooches than any other site in Britain.

These early brooches well represent the two-fold link which joined Britain to the Continent. The first of these

links was, in part, of military origin or was at least accentuated by military movement. Of the legions which swept by the site of London in the year 43, three came from the Rhine, whilst the fourth was drawn from the Danubian province of Pannonia. On this ground alone it would be natural to expect amongst the early Roman brooches from London a predominant German element. Of the examples here catalogued, no less than eleven are of characteristic Rhenish types. It is, indeed, more than likely that this Rhenish orientation was to some extent anticipated by the pre-Roman associations between Belgium and south-eastern Britain (see above, p. 33). Caesar records the migration of Belgic tribes to this country shortly before the middle of the first century B.C., and there is archaeological evidence that the process continued during the following hundred years. To this cross-channel movement may perhaps be ascribed some of the Germanic brooches found on late prehistoric sites in this country, although even there an early post-conquest influence may often be suspected. All the early Romano-German brooches from London, however, are such as occur freely on Claudian sites in the Rhine and Danube valleys, and it cannot be doubted that their influx owed something to the Germanic origin of the army of invasion.

The second link was of a more definitely civil and commercial character. With the development of the Rhenish provinces, commercial intercourse between them and Britain steadily increased until, under the later Empire, it may have become a dominant factor in the commercial life of Britain. But, at first, it is probable that the older and more settled provinces of Gaul attracted much of our trade. As a counterpart to the Belgic occupation of south-eastern Britain during the later prehistoric period, there are traces in south-western Britain of contact with central and western Gaul. This contact was, of course, intensified and extended by the Roman conquest; and it is natural to find amongst the early brooches of London some evidence of this process. Attention may be drawn to Nos. 4, 5 and 6 in this connection.

In and after the time of Agricola, the new Britannic pro-

vince "found its feet." It now began to develop, within the somewhat rigid limits of Romanization, an individuality of its own. Amongst the brooches, this native enterprise is represented by Nos. 26-30—all types which are at home in Britain, and occur comparatively rarely on the Continent. At the same time, Continental influence by no means ceased. Brooches such as No. 17 can be recognized with fair certainty as comparatively late importations. Of greater interest in this connection are the enamelled "animal" brooches, such as Nos. 39 and 40, a type which is common in Belgium and the Rhineland and is not infrequently encountered in Britain. A striking link between the extreme areas is provided by No. 39, from London Wall, which, if not cast in the same mould, must at least have issued from the same workshop, as another found near Mainz (see also p. 34 and Fig. 4). Where was the centre of manufacture? Belgium, where enamelling is known to have been an industry in Roman times, may be suspected. But south-eastern Britain, Belgium and the lower Rhine formed in many respects, as has been stated above, a single cultural area, and it would be unwise therefore to be dogmatic.

FIG. 24.

1. (A 22346). Bronze brooch with spring-pin, found in London, probably in Barge Yard. The bow is ornamented with longitudinal fluting ending in a rough transverse moulding which, like the projecting moulding at this point on other types of brooch, is probably a reminiscence of the junction-binding of foot and bow characteristic of La Tène II brooches. An almost identical brooch was found in the *Hradisch* of Stradonic, in Bohemia, where Gallic and Rhenish influences converge; whilst a somewhat similar type occurs in the contemporary Gallic hill-town on Mont Beuvray (evacuated about 12 B.C.). The duration of the type is not at present known, but it is sufficiently similar to a type of brooch which occurs in the Claudian camp at Hofheim in the Rhineland to suggest that it may have lasted until the middle of the 1st century A.D. The present example may therefore be either of pre-Claudian or of Claudian date.

2. (A 24066). Bronze brooch found with a decorated stud (Fig. 37, 4) in Miles Lane. This brooch, with its roughly fluted back, is an inferior variant of the preceding. 1st century A.D.

3. (A 28330). Bronze brooch, with angular bow and pierced catch-plate, from the bed of the Walbrook, Poultry. This type occurs in the Claudian camp at Hofheim but does not seem to have lasted much later than the middle of the 1st century A.D.

4. (A 13824). Bronze brooch with fluted bow, pierced catch-plate and hinged pin, found in London Wall. It is akin to a type which occurs

in central Gaul and south-western Britain on sites dating from *circa* 50 B.C.-50 A.D. This type is abundant in the Rhône valley at Vienne (information from Mr. R. G. Collingwood) and is found at Mont Beuvray (evacuated about 12 B.C.) and on La Tène III sites at Lydney, in Gloucestershire, Hod Hill, and on Lambay off the coast of Co. Dublin. The present example presumably dates from the first years of Roman London.

5. (A 17718). Bronze brooch with central disc, pierced catch-plate and formerly with encased spring. The type is substantially that of the preceding with the addition of the disc and the consequent arching of the upper part of the bow. The custom of threading a disc on to the bow of the brooch occurs in Alpine Italy as early as La Tène II, but the present example represents a series which was apparently evolved independently in Gaul in La Tène III (1st century B.C.). In this series the addition of the disc was possibly suggested by the moulding which, in La Tène III, survived as a reminiscence of the actual binding that had formerly held the end of the recurved foot to the bow of the brooch. At Mont Beuvray, before 12 B.C., the disc is still (as on the present example) an independent feature, *i.e.* it is not cast in one piece with the rest of the brooch. At Haltern, on the other hand, evacuated about A.D. 16, a semi-disc forms an integral part of the design and is cast in one piece with the brooch. During the first half of the 1st century A.D., the two variants—that with the independent disc and that with the disc incorporated as a part of the casting—lasted side by side, although the latter superseded the former after the middle of the century. Reminiscences of the type can occasionally be detected, notably in the famous Aesica example, as late as the middle of the 2nd century A.D. The present example, with its independent disc, may be regarded as a relic of the first years of the Roman occupation.

6. (C 990). Fragmentary bronze brooch with lozenge-shaped protection on the bow and encased spring, found somewhere in London. This is a good example of the secondary phase described under the preceding. The disc or lozenge is here an integral feature of the casting and may be contrasted with a similar brooch from Lincoln (now in the British Museum) in which the lozenge is still a separate feature.

7. (A 17716). Bronze brooch with hinged pin in cross-head slightly grooved to represent a spring; the bow expands to a lozenge and bears traces of yellow enamel; the foot is of unusual form, possibly zoomorphic. Found in London. In type, this brooch is clearly derived from the preceding.

8. (A 10127). Bronze brooch with hinged pin; the head and foot are of unusual form, but for the latter compare preceding example; the lozenge on the bow was formerly enamelled. Found in Lombard Street. The brooch presents unusual features but, like the preceding, is clearly derived from No. 6.

9. (A 17717). Bronze brooch with hinged pin; the lozenge-shaped plane was formerly filled with green enamel. Found somewhere in London. In type, the brooch is probably derived from the preceding.

FIG. 25.

Bronze brooch with hinged pin and with the name AVCISSA, slightly blundered, in relief above the hinge. From Poultry. Brooches bearing this and other names are not uncommon in Britain and on the Continent, being

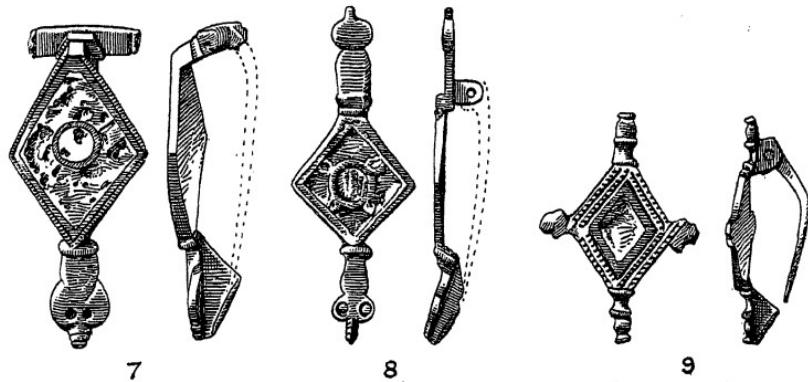
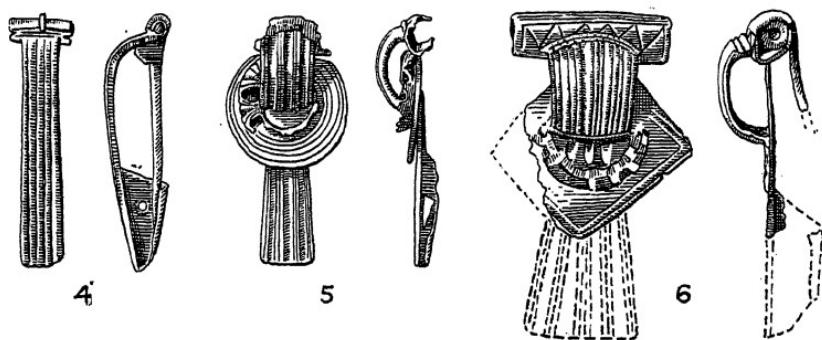
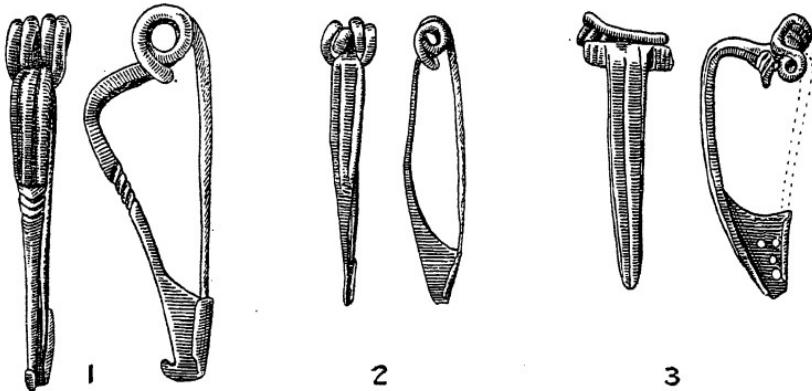


FIG. 24.—Bronze brooches. $\frac{2}{3}$. (See p. 89.)

found as far east as Siberia and the Caucasus. Their place of manufacture is unknown, although the Celtic character of the names suggests a Gaulish origin; the abundance of the type at Hofheim perhaps points to East Gaul. In date they range from the end of the 1st century B.C. (Mont Beuvray and Haltern) until about the middle of the 1st century A.D. Rarely, as at Wroxeter, they seem to have survived into the Flavian period. (See Haverfield, *Archaeological Journal*, LX, 236.)

FIG. 26.

10. (A 24941). Bronze "eye-brooch," with spring-pin, said to have been found with a well-preserved 2nd brass of Claudius in the bed of the Walbrook at Angel Court. The identical condition of brooch and coin support the association. The characteristic feature of this type of brooch is the pair of holes, hollows, or, as in the present example, incised concentric circles on the bow immediately above the spring. In the Claudian camp at Hofheim the three types occur in nearly equal proportions to a total of 19 examples, but it is thought that the chronological sequence is first holes, secondly hollows, and

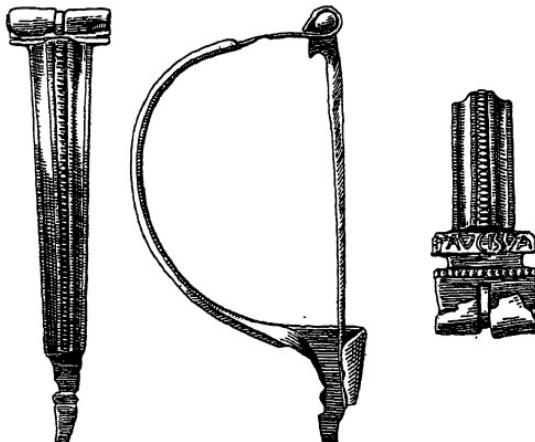


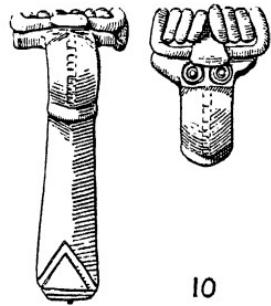
FIG. 25.—"Aucissa" brooch from Poultry. $\frac{1}{4}$. (See p. 90.)

thirdly rings. The type originated in western Germany (possibly Brandenburg) and is common in the Rhine and Danube valleys on pre-Flavian sites.

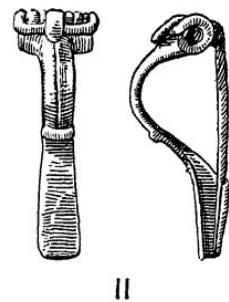
11. (A 2406). Bronze brooch of type similar to that of the German eye-fibulae (see preceding). Found in Fenchurch Street. Probably mid 1st-century A.D.

12. (A 2390). Bronze brooch, with spring-pin, found in the Thames at London.

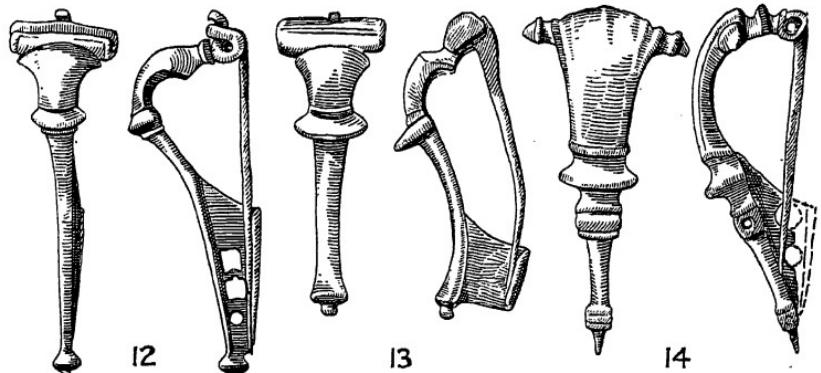
13. (A 21462). Bronze brooch, with hinged pin, found in London Wall. These four brooches, together with three others (two from London Wall and one from the Thames, all from the same mould) represent a type especially common in the Rhineland about the middle of the 1st century A.D. Thus, at



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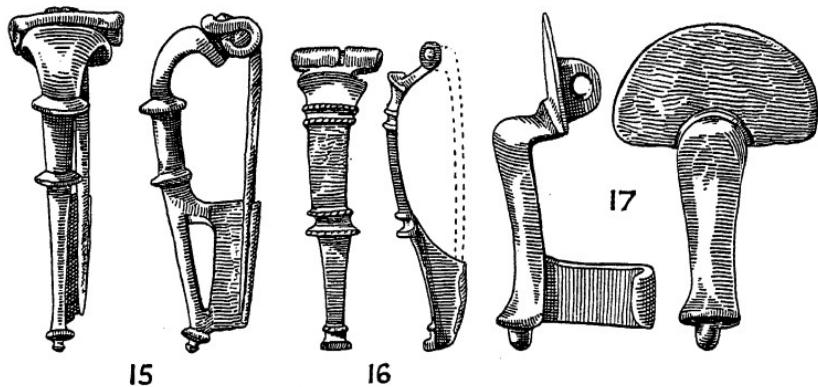
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FIG. 26.—Bronze brooches of German types. 2. (See p. 92.)

Hofheim 18 examples were found in the Claudian camp. Most of them have a pierced catch-plate like Nos. 12, 14 and 15, but the closed catch-plate, as on No. 13 is also present at Hofheim. The type occurs occasionally on German Limes sites occupied principally in the 2nd and 3rd centuries (*e.g.* Osterburken), but the present examples may reasonably be ascribed to the first thirty or forty years of Roman London.

14. (A 13820). Bronze brooch, with hinged pin, found in Gracechurch Street. This example is noteworthy for a piercing through the rectangular moulding above the foot; this may have been used for affixing a chain or cord (*cf.* No. 35), although this method of linking brooches in pairs is unusual on the Continent.

15. (A 22303). Bronze brooch, with spring-pin, found in London Wall.

16. (A 16572). Bronze brooch, with hinged pin, found in London Wall. This is a modification of the German type represented by Nos. 12-15, and dates from the second or third quarter of the 1st century A.D. A closely similar example in the Santon Downham hoard, Suffolk, dates from about A.D. 50.

17. (A 23483). Massive bronze knee-brooch, with large semicircular plate which formerly covered a spring (now missing); found in the Thames at Hammersmith. Brooches of this type are commonly ascribed to the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century A.D., but are not closely dated. Examples, such as the present, with enlarged semicircular plate above the spring, are thought to be late in the series. The boldly protecting catch-plate is a German feature (*cf.* No. 13, above), and the type generally suggests a Rhenish origin.

FIG. 27.

18. (A 2466). Bronze brooch, with the loop of the half-covered spring caught up in a long hook which is fastened back to the bow with two studs. Found in Fenchurch Street. The type is an early variant of the Polden Hill series. Late 1st century A.D.

19. (A 21461). Bronze brooch with half-covered spring and pierced catch-plate. Found in London Wall. Late 1st or early 2nd century A.D.

20. (A 10375). Bronze brooch with partially covered spring and pierced catch-plate, found at Hayes Wharf, Tooley Street, Southwark. Late 1st or early 2nd century A.D.

21. (A 11063). Bronze brooch of so-called "dolphin" type, with partially covered spring. Found in Swan Street. Late 1st or early 2nd century A.D.

22. (C 985). Bronze brooch with partially covered spring. Found in London. Late 1st or early 2nd century A.D.

FIG. 28.

23. (A 13821). Bronze brooch, with hinged pin, fluted bow and pierced catch-plate, found on Dowgate Hill. This brooch is akin to a type common in the Claudian camp at Hofheim and on other early German sites, but the extension of the fluting down to the foot of the bow is an exceptional feature, possibly of Gaulish origin (*above*, No. 4). All the analogies seem to fall approximately within the period A.D. 30-70.

24. (C 988). Bronze brooch with hinged pin, and, on the bow, five small panels filled formerly with green and probably red enamel. Found somewhere in London. Akin to, but probably later than, the preceding. 2nd century A.D.

25. (A 10123). Bronze brooch with hinged pin and cells bearing traces of red enamel; found in Lombard Street. The stud at the top of the bow is a reminiscence of a functional stud which had in earlier examples held in position the loop of the spiral spring (as on No. 18). The type belongs to the 2nd century; it is fairly common in Britain but comparatively rare in Gaul and Germany.

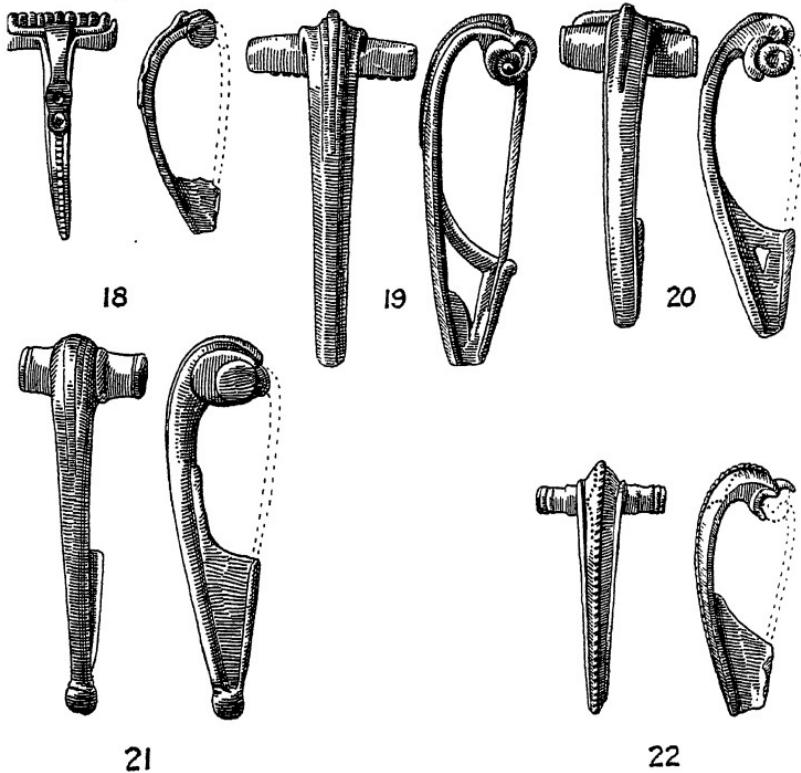


FIG. 27.—Bronze brooches. 2. (See p. 94.)

26. (A 1263). Bronze brooch with hinged pin, loop at head, stud enamelled in red and white, and triangular and lozenge pattern similarly enamelled on bow. Found in Austin Friars, and given by W. M. Newton, Esq. This type, with the head-loop (used for fastening brooches together in pairs by means of a cord or chain) is apparently of British origin, and occurs only rarely on the Continent.

27. (A 23484). Massive bronze brooch with traces of red enamel in the

sinkings of the late Celtic pattern on the trumpet head—a pattern derived from a conventionalized bull's head; the bow is of circular section, with the acanthus-junction carried completely round it. Found in the Thames at London Bridge. This characteristically North British type lasted from about 100 to 140 A.D.

28. (A 11925). Bronze brooch with trumpet-head covering spring and central acanthus moulding carried completely round the bow. Found in London Wall. Early 2nd century A.D.

29. (A 20228). Bronze brooch of type generally similar to the two preceding but with flattened underside to the bow. Found in the Thames at London. The flattening of the underside of the bow is thought to be a relatively late development, but it certainly occurs almost as early as the rounded variety. 2nd century A.D.

30. (A 1264). Bronze brooch of similar type to preceding, with blue enamelled pattern on the trumpet-head. Found in Finsbury Circus.

FIG. 29.

31. (A 10124). Bronze brooch with trumpet head covering remains of spring; on the head are remains of a loop; the bow takes the form of a disc ornamented with yellow and green enamel. Found in London. The form may owe something to the influence of the disc-brooches described above (No. 5, etc.), but it has been suggested that the disc may rather be an enlargement of the vestigial stud seen, for example, on Nos. 25 and 26. An example similar to that from London is dated at Heddernheim in Germany to the second half of the 2nd century A.D.

32. (A 27196). Bronze brooch with trumpet head covering the spring and bow ornamented to represent a moth; the wings were formerly enamelled with red and probably some other colour. Found in Lime Street. Probably 2nd century A.D.

33. (A 23853). Bronze brooch in the form of a crescent with knobbed terminals and decorated with a floral pattern inlaid with calcedony. Found in Clements Lane.

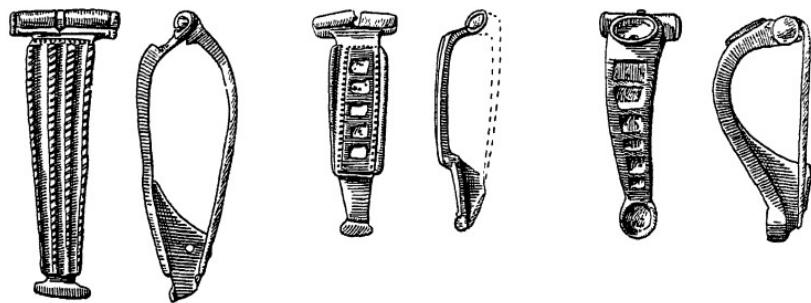
34. (A 16844). Bronze brooch of type similar to preceding, and decorated with red and green enamel. Found in London.

35. (29.51). Bronze brooch of similar type, decorated with blue enamel and retaining 9 ins. of woven bronze chain. Found in Lothbury. On this example, the addition of a central imitation-pendant (cast in one piece with the main body of the brooch) has enabled the pin to be placed at right angles to its usual position on these crescent brooches.

36. (A 10130). Bronze disc-brooch decorated with red enamel. Found in Lombard Street. Enamelled disc brooches have been thought, on insufficient grounds, to be specially characteristic of the 2nd century A.D.

37. (A 26490). Bronze disc-brooch decorated with yellow, green and blue enamel. Found in Leadenhall Street.

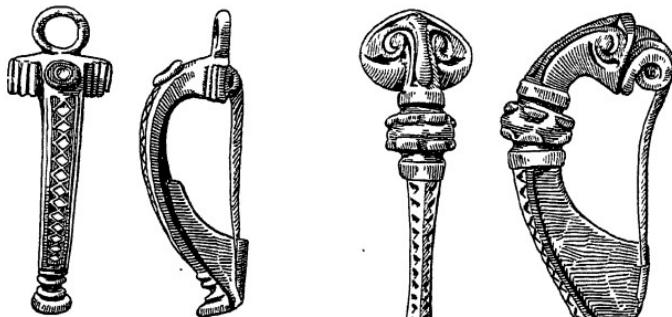
38. (A 17331). Bronze disc-brooch decorated with blue and green enamel. Found in London.



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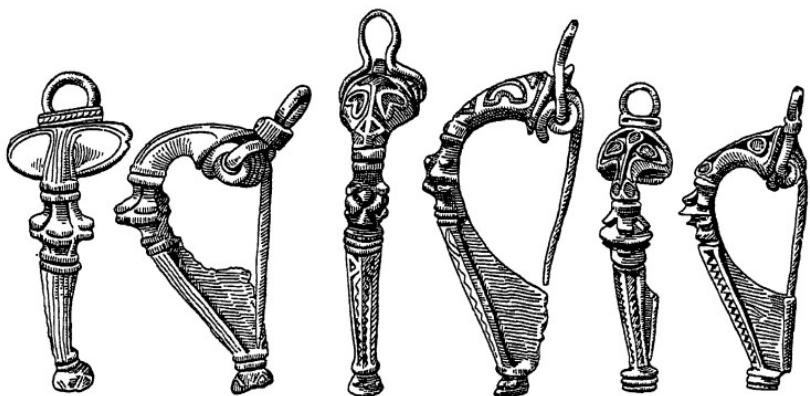
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FIG. 28.—Bronze brooches. ½. (See p. 94.)

G—(63)

39. (A 21459). Small bronze brooch in the form of a hare, formerly decorated with enamel in the form of two small hares confronting a central vase. Found in London Wall. This brooch is of unusual interest because a duplicate has been found as far away as Kleinwinterheim near Mainz in the Rhineland (see above, Fig. 4, and Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Band II, Heft VII, Taf. lv, 19; and above, p. 34). The slight differences between the two brooches may be due merely to trimming after casting from the same mould; but even if two different moulds were used (as is perhaps probable) the close similarity of the brooches, coupled with their distinctive character, enables us to ascribe them to the same workshop.

40. (A 19537). Bronze brooch in the form of a fish, decorated with green and white enamel. Found in London Wall. A similar brooch, cast apparently in the same mould, was found in the Romano-British village of Rotherley (see Pitt-Rivers, *Cranborne Chase* II, Pl. XCVII, 8; and Kennard, *Archaeological Journal*, LX, Pl. V, facing p. 196).

Note.—Ten bronze penannular brooches from London are preserved in the Museum. They all have simple knobbed or reverted terminals and do not call for illustration.

13. FINGER-RINGS (Fig. 30)

(a) GOLD

1. (A 13212). Gold finger-ring, with oval gold bezel containing a representation, in relief, of a cupid leaning upon a pedestal. 2nd century A.D. Found near London Bridge.

2. (A 22180). Small gold finger-ring, with thin loop expanding to a slightly flattened oval bezel bearing a roughly incised palm-branch (?). Probably 1st century A.D. Found close beside All Hallows Church, Lombard Street.

3. (A 23405). Gold finger-ring, with thin hoop expanding into a flattened oval bezel bearing an incised bird with a long tail (? peacock, or dove) and holding a V-shaped object (? olive branch) in its beak. This type of ring appears to be early (c. 1st century A.D.), and if this be the case it is difficult to associate the design with Christianity. Found on the site of St. Clement's Churchyard, Clement's Lane.

4. (A 24748). Gold finger-ring, with "keeled" hoop expanding into a flattened oval bezel bearing an incised dolphin. Probably 1st century A.D. Found in Nicholas Lane.

5. (A 28026). Gold finger-ring, with angular hoop, oblong plate-bezel, and grooved shoulders. The angular hoop is a feature of 3rd- and 4th-century rings. Found in Little Trinity Lane.

(b) BRONZE

6. (A 7996). Bronze finger-ring expanding into an oval bezel with intaglio

design of a winged lion or gryphon. A Greek type which probably did not outlast the 1st century A.D. Found in Smithfield.



FIG. 29.—Enamelled brooches. 3. (See p. 96.)

7. (17723). Bronze finger-ring with oval bronze bezel roughly incised IIV. Found in London.

8. (A 27084). Polygonal bronze bezel of finger-ring, set with carnelian intaglio bearing the coarsely engraved representation of a crouching stag. Found in Coleman Street.

9. (A 8005). Bronze finger-ring with oval bezel set with a glass intaglio representing a draped female figure standing and holding a cornucopia (Abundantia, or the like). Probably 3rd century A.D. Found in London Wall.

10. (A 8004). Bronze finger-ring, with expanded concave shoulders, circular bezel and green glass intaglio. The design on the glass seems to be merely a rough and unintelligible sinking. The type is characteristic of the 3rd and early 4th centuries A.D. Found in Southwark.

11. (A 24759). Bronze finger-ring with concave shoulders and oblong bronze bezel set with circular blue glass bead. Found in St. Helen's Place.

12. (A 8000). Bronze finger-ring, with angular hoop and pierced hexagonal bezel with circular top. Late Roman. Found in Fenchurch Street.

13. (A 20822). Thin bronze finger-ring, roughly decorated with continuous raised acanthus-pattern. Found in the Walbrook.

14. (A 4965). Wire-bound bronze finger-ring, probably of late Roman period (compare *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek, Etruscan and Roman finger-rings*, No. 981). Found in London.

15. (29.51). Bronze wire finger-ring. Probably late Roman. Found in Lothbury.

(c) IRON

16. (A 24467). Iron finger-ring expanding to an oval bezel set with a brown glass intaglio representing a combat. Early Roman. Found in Miles Lane.

17. (A 20348). Part of iron finger-ring with intaglio in white and black paste (imitating onyx), representing an armed male figure (? Mars, or the Emperor) standing with one hand raised on a spear and the other hand holding a small Victory, who advances to crown him. Early Roman. Found in Moorgate Street.

18. (A 1620). Part of iron finger-ring, expanding to an oval bezel set with a sardonyx intaglio representing a thunderbolt. 1st or 2nd century A.D. Found on the site of the Aquarium, Westminster. (Ex Hilton Price Collection.)

(d) JET AND GLASS

19. (A 1420). Part of jet finger-ring, with front part of loop ribbed and plain oval bezel. Late Roman. Found in London.

20. (A 1267). Finger-ring of black glass, with grooved bezel and shoulders. Jet rings of similar type found near Bonn were associated with coins of Valentinian and Valens, c. 375 A.D. (see *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CX, 179). Found in Smithfield. Given by W. M. Newton, Esq.

21. (A 1268). Finger-ring of glass, spirally ornamented in yellow and white, with a green glass bezel. A late Roman type not closely dated. Found in Smithfield. Given by W. M. Newton, Esq.



FIG. 30.—Finger-rings of gold, bronze, iron, glass and jet. ^{1.} (See p. 98.)
101

22. (A 1921). Finger-ring of yellow and white glass, similar to preceding with blue glass bezel. Found in Moorgate Street.

(e) INTAGLIO

23. (A 14751). Sard intaglio from a finger-ring, representing a boar running left. Found in Eldon Street, Finsbury.

(f) KEY-RINGS (see also p. 75).

24. (A 6796). Bronze key-ring, the oblong bronze bezel enriched by two incised lines. Found in London.

25. (A 7999). Bronze key-ring, with circular key. Probably 3rd or 4th century A.D. Found in Moorgate Street.

14. BRACELETS

The bracelets here illustrated are representative of a number in the Museum.

Fig. 31, 1 (A 13973). Jet or shale bracelet, oval internally and polygonal externally, with longitudinal grooves on each facet. Found in Borough High

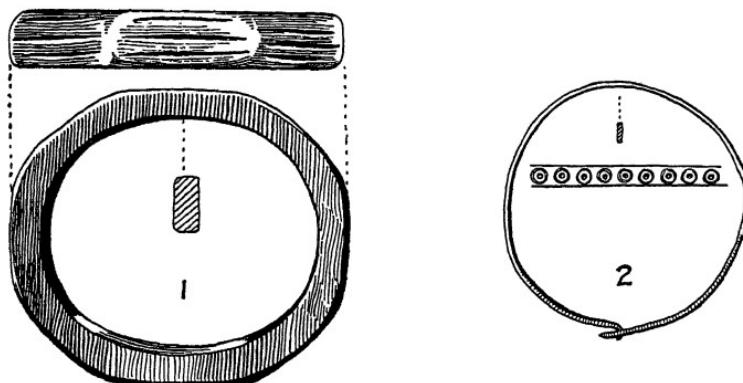


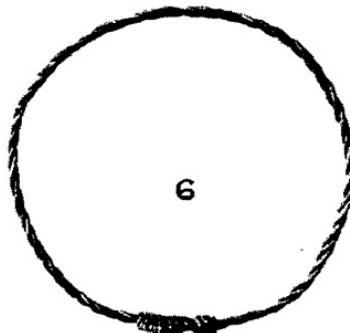
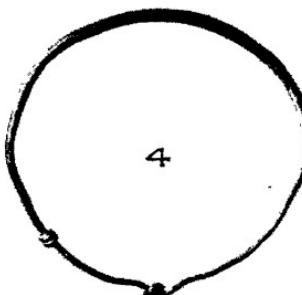
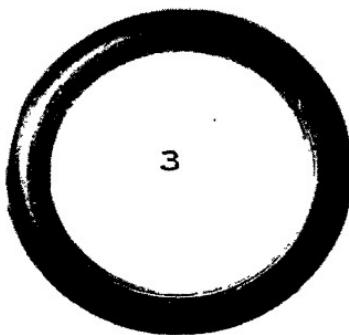
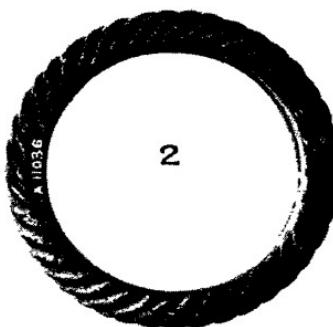
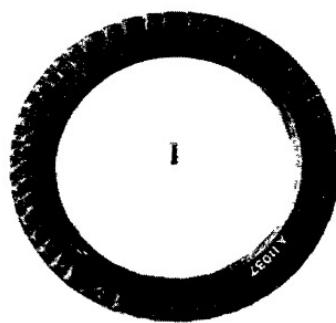
FIG. 31.—1, Jet bracelet from Southwark; 2, bronze bracelet from London.
2. (See p. 102.)

Street, Southwark. Bracelets of this kind are found frequently on inhumation-burials in London, and are presumably therefore of 3rd or 4th century date.

Fig. 31, 2 (C 964). Small bronze bracelet ornamented with incised concentric circles. Found in London.

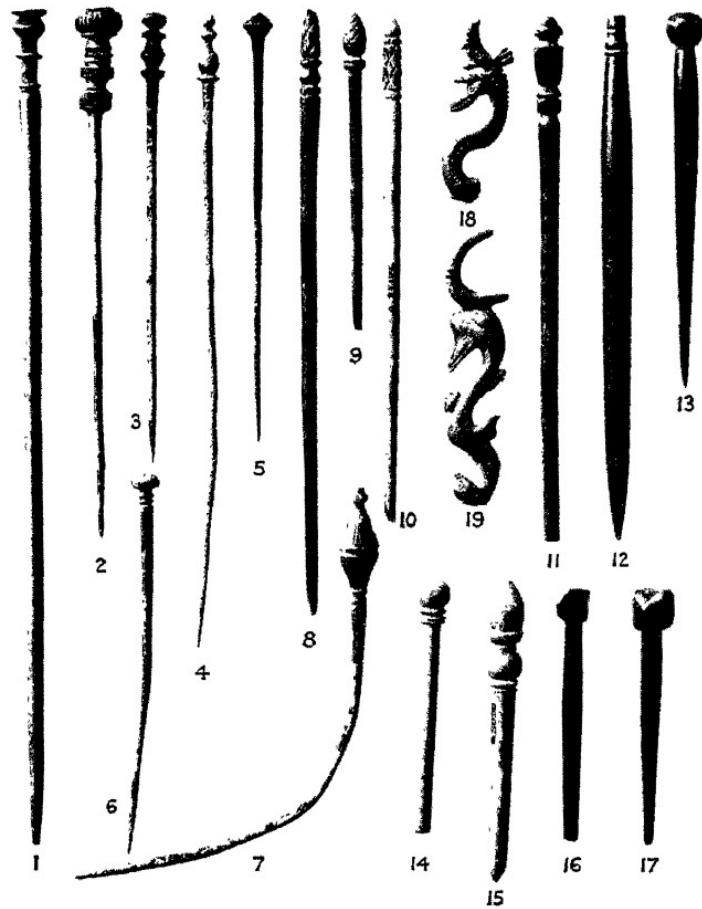
Pl. XL, 1 (A 11036). Shale bracelet, with diagonal grooving. Found in Southwark Street (*ex R. E. Way Collection*).

Pl. XL, 2 (A 11037). Shale bracelet, with serrated outer edge. Found in Southwark Street (*ex R. E. Way Collection*).



Bracelets : 1 and 2, of shale ; 3, of jet ; 4-6, of bronze. $\frac{1}{2}$.
(See pp. 102, 103.)

PLATE XLI.



Pins : 1-7, of bronze ; 13, 16 and 17, of jet ; remainder, of bone. 1.
(See pp. 103, 105.)

Pl. XL, 3 (A 11031). Jet or shale bracelet, found in Southwark Street (*ex R. E. Way Collection*).

Pl. XLI, 4 (A 2576). Silver wire-bracelet, found in the Thames at Wandsworth.

Pl. XL, 5 (A 2404). Bronze bracelet, diagonally grooved. Found in Mansell Street (*ex Hilton Price Collection*).

Pl. XL, 6 (A 112). Bracelet of twisted bronze and iron wire, found in Copthall Court.

15. PINS AND NEEDLES

Pins of metal, bone or jet are very numerous, and only representative examples are here illustrated.

FIG. 32.

1 (A 2310). Bone pin with head in the form of a hand holding a bust of Cybele. From Moorgate Street.

2 (A 17638). Bone pin with head in the form of a human bust. From London.

3 (29.49). Bronze pin with head in a form somewhat reminiscent of a military standard. From Poultry.

4 (A 24757). Bronze pin with square head containing male bust in relief. From Angel Court.

5 (A 28134). Bronze pin with head in the form of a hand holding an apple (?), a common device of uncertain meaning. From Fenchurch Street.

Pl. XLI

1 (A 13831). Bronze pin, from London Wall.

2 (A 24410). Bronze pin, from Miles Lane.

3 (A 28189). Bronze pin, from Tokenhouse Yard.

4. (A 27521). Bronze pin, from Tokenhouse Yard.

5 (A 1886). Bronze pin, from Moorgate Street.

6 (A 2465). Bronze pin, from London Wall.

7 (A 28274). Bronze pin, from Tokenhouse Yard.

8 (A 28381). Bone pin, from Poultry.

9 (A 637). Bone pin, from Moorgate Street.

10 (A 27176). Bone pin, from King William Street.

11 and 12 (A 2030 and A 234). Bone pins, from Moorgate Street.

13 (A 27737). Jet pin, from Lime Street.

14 (A 138). Bone pin, from Copthall Court.

15 (A 5090). Bone pin, from Angel Court.

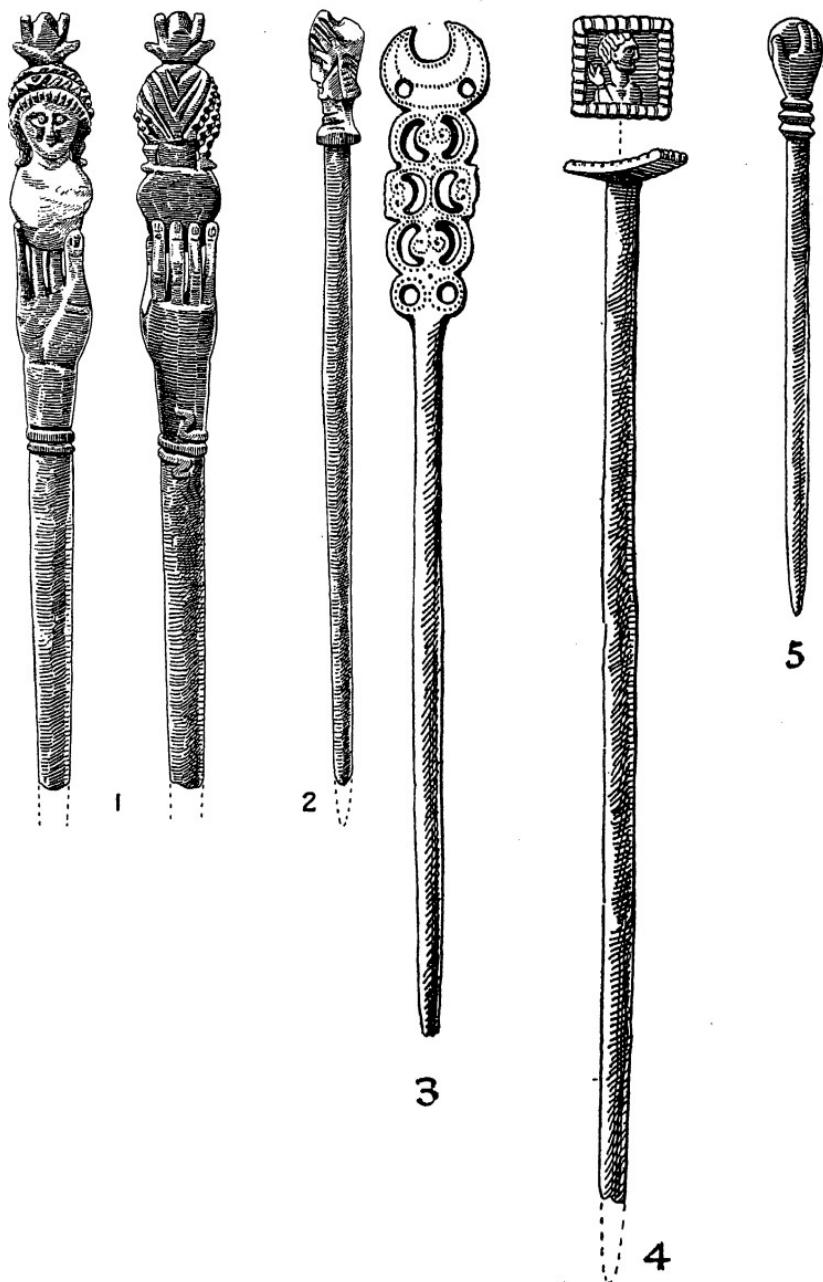
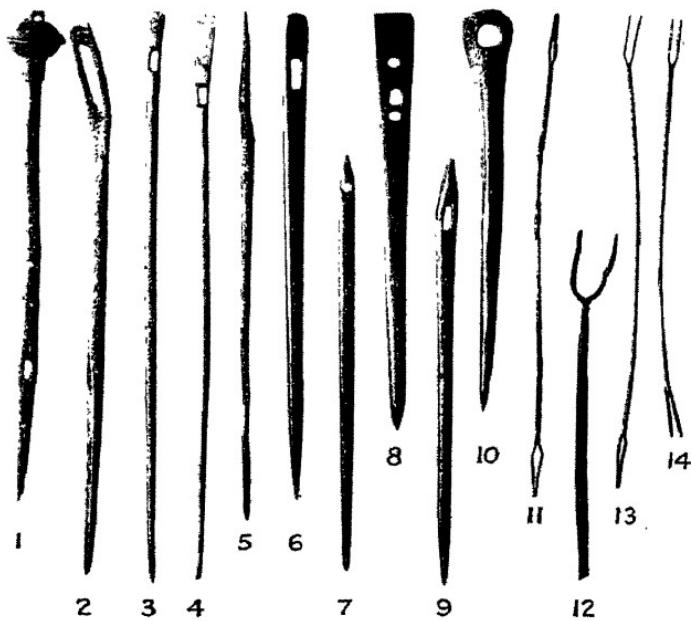
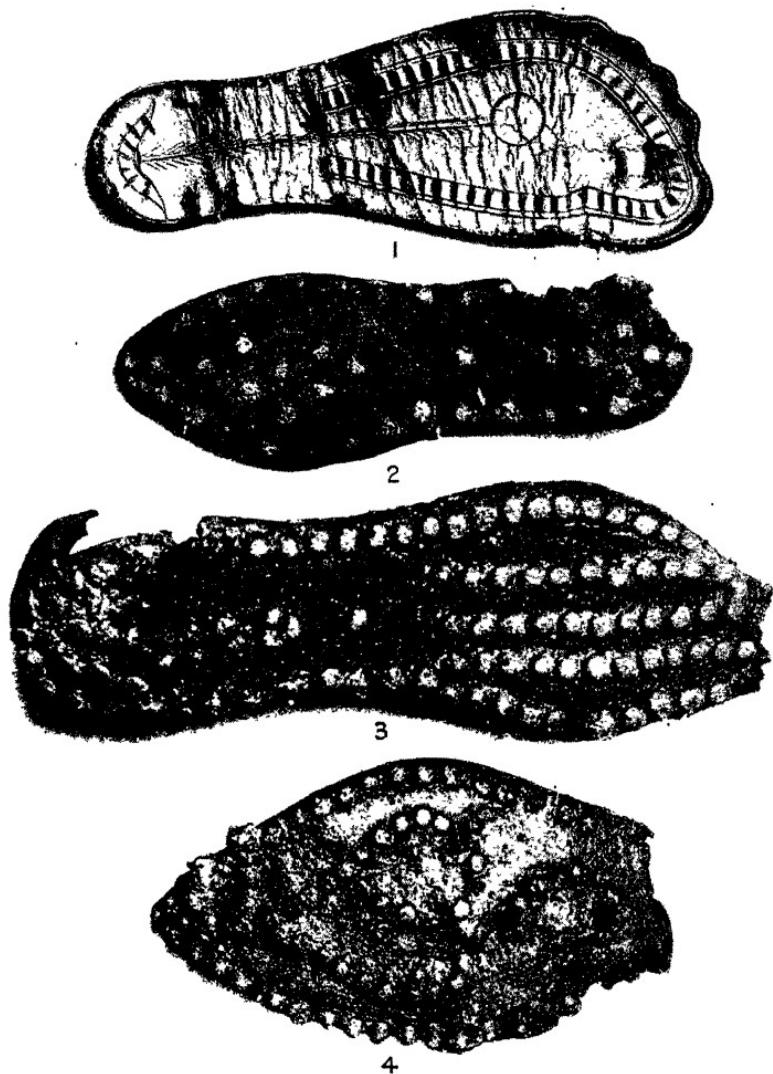


FIG. 32.—Pins: 1 and 2, of bone; 3-5, of bronze. $\frac{1}{2}$. (See p. 103.)
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Needles : 1-5 and 11-14, of bronze ; 6-10, of bone. 1*l*. (See p. 105.)

PLATE XLIII.



1, Leather sandal; 2-4, leather boot-soles. $\frac{1}{2}$. (See p. 105.)

- 16 (A 14419). Jet pin, from Borough High Street.
17 (A 16048). Jet pin, from the Thames at Battersea.
18 (A 14478). Dragonesque bone head of pin or ligula, from Swan Pier.
19 (A 13717). Dragonesque bone head of pin or ligula, from London Wall. (Compare *Guildhall Museum Catalogue*, Pl. V, 7.)

Pl. XLII

- 1 (A 5086). Bronze needle or pin, from Angel Court.
2 (A 28140). Bronze needle, from Tokenhouse Yard.
3 (A 24052). Bronze needle, from Miles Lane.
4, 5 (A 25050, A 24468). Bronze needles, from Angel Court.
6 (A 1907). Bone needle, from Moorgate Street.
7 (A 197). Bone needle, from Copthall Court.
8 (A 27920). Bone needle, from Poultry.
9 (A 24054). Bone needle from Miles Lane.
10 (A 27730). Bone needle, from Clements Lane.
11-14 (A 4849, A 2903, A 4850, A 4852). Bronze netting-needles, from London.

16. SHOES

The simplest form of footgear was the sandal (*sandalium*, *solea* or *crepida*). This consisted principally of a leather sole held to the foot by a thong which passed between the big and second toe. Sandals are found in London (Pl. XLIII, 1), but the commonest types of shoe in the northern provinces of the Empire provided a more adequate protection to the foot. One of these was the open-work slipper or *carbatina*, made generally from a single piece of leather, the sides being turned up and elaborately cut or pierced for lacing (Pl. XLIV). Another, represented probably by the hob-nailed soles in Pl. XLIII (compare Pl. VII b), was the *calceus* or boot, which completely covered the foot, either with leather or with cloth sometimes sewn to a narrow fringe of leather round the edges of the leather sole. In these cases the "uppers" were held between the layers of which the sole was built.

Leather-working, including shoe-making, seems to have been carried on extensively in the neighbourhood of the Walbrook. For example, many fragments of cut leather were found in Roman levels at Founders Court, Lothbury, in 1927.

(For Roman footgear generally, see L. Jacobi, *Das Römerkastell Saalburg*, 496; and Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. *sandalium*, *crepida*, etc.).

Pl. XLIII, 1 (A 28382). Sole of sandal for left foot. The upper surface of the leather is ornamented with incised patterns, and the sole is cut to take the toe-strap. Found in Tokenhouse Yard.

Pl. XLIII, 2 (29.200). Nail-studded sole of a boot or *calcus*. Found in London.

Pl. XLIII, 3 (A 25007). Nail-studded sole of a *calcus*. Found in Angel Court.

Pl. XLIII, 4 (A 19613). Part of the sole of a *calcus* studded with nails in the form of a leaf. Found in London Wall. (See *Archaeological Journal*, LX, Pl. V.)

Pl. XLIV, 1 (A 241). Slipper or *carbatina*, found in Copthall Court.

Pl. XLIV, 2 and 3 (29.200). *Carbatinae*, found in London.

17. MISCELLANEA

Pl. XLV

Roman spoons were either of bone or of metal, and under the early Empire their bowls (with or without the "rat-tailed" continuation of the handle down the back) were normally circular. In the third and fourth centuries, on the other hand, the oval or lyre-shaped bowl prevailed, the latter derived from the circular or oval form with the sides steepened by being partially pinched up.

1 (A 20567). Bone spoon, from Leadenhall Street.

2 and 3 (A 5084 and A 208). Bone rat-tailed spoons, from Moorgate Street and Copthall Court.

4 (A 17725). Bronze spoon, from London.

5 (A 11943). Bronze rat-tailed spoon, from Angel Court.

6 (A 14424). Bronze spoon, from Tooley Street.

Pl. XLVI

Spindle-whorls of stone, clay, shale or metal are common on ancient sites, but the spindles themselves—generally of wood—are rarely found. A series, however, preserved in the moist soil of London, is illustrated in this plate. Their



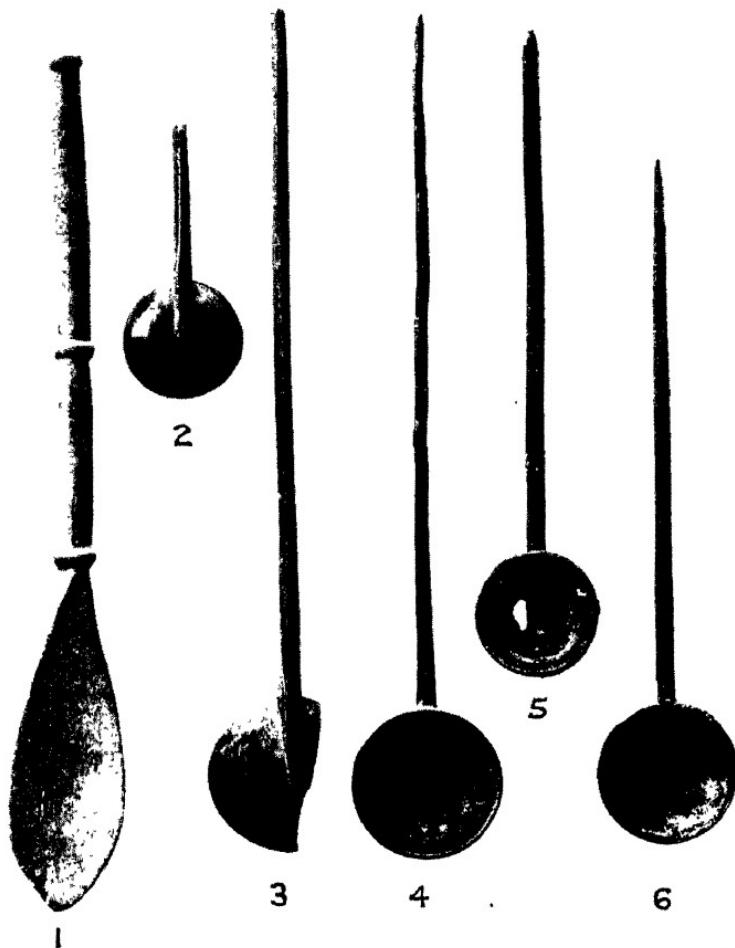
2



3

Leather shoes. ½. (See p. 106.)

PLATE XLV.



Spoons: 1-3, of bone; 4-6, of bronze. (See p. 106.)

use was as follows. The unspun wool was held on a distaff in the left hand ; the yarn, twisted from the wool by the fingers of the right hand, was attached to the spindle, which dangled and so tautened the increasing length of spun yarn ; at the same time the spindle with the assistance of the whorl (on the fly-wheel principle) helped the rotary motion of yarn and fingers, and so facilitated the process.

- 1 (A 4691 and A 11083). Wooden spindle, from Moorgate Street, and stone whorl from Southwark, associated to show the complete spindle.
- 2 (29.183). Wooden spindle, from London.
- 3 (A 28343). Bone spindle, from Tokenhouse Yard.
- 4 (A 27942). Wooden spindle, from Poultry.
- 5 (A 26208). Whorl cut from Samian pottery, from Thames Street.
- 6 (A 25784). Whorl cut from a "2nd brass" coin of Caligula; from Nicholas Lane.
- 7 (A 27803). Stone whorl, from Threadneedle Street.
- 8 (A 2483). Jet whorl, from Thames Street.
- 9 (A 1894). Bone whorl, from Moorgate Street.
- 10 (A 11902). Lead whorl from St. Martin's-le-Grand.

Pl. XLVIIA

- 1 (A 38). Bronze neck-moulding from a candelabrum (see p. 60 and Fig. 12). From Cophall Court.
 - 2 (A 28340). Bronze leg of a casket, in the form of a lion's head and leg. From the bed of the Walbrook, Tokenhouse Yard.
 - 3 (A 17333). Bronze terminal, probably from some article of furniture. From New Broad Street.
 - 4 (A 17352). Bronze terminal, from Thames Street.
- For analogous mouldings from chairs or couches from Pompeii, see *Real Museo Borbonico*, II, Pl. XXXI.
- 5 and 6 (A 19206-7). Two bronze terminals in the form of lions' heads. From Wanstead.

Pl. XLVIIIB

The flute was a popular instrument amongst the Romans, and bone flutes found in Roman strata in London may be ascribed to that period. Four examples (A 1275, A 625, A 9381 and A 27574) are here illustrated, respectively from Smithfield, Moorgate Street, Paternoster Row and Lime Street.

Pl. XLVIII

1 to 3 (A 89, A 4943, and A 88). Iron rattles, from Moorgate Street. The purpose of these objects is not clear. A rattle (*sistrum*) was used by the priests and priestesses of Isis, to whom, incidentally, a shrine is known to have been established in Londinium (see p. 25); whilst rattles or *crepitacula* (a name applied by Martial and Apuleius also to the religious *sistra*) were used by Roman children. A somewhat similar paddle-shaped instrument, but with small bells attached to the rings, has been found in the catacombs of Rome, and it is possible that bells were formerly attached to the rings of the present examples. (See Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. *sistrum*.) Rattle-like objects with loops of metal attached occur on La Tène III sites in Gaul, such as Mont Beuvray (Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie*, II, pt. 3, Fig. 604). A closer analogy, also of unknown use, is recorded from the German Limes fort of Urspring (O.R.L. *Urspring*, Taf. IV, 11).

4 and 5 (A 27835 and A 23800). Bronze bells, from the Bank of England and Thames Street respectively.

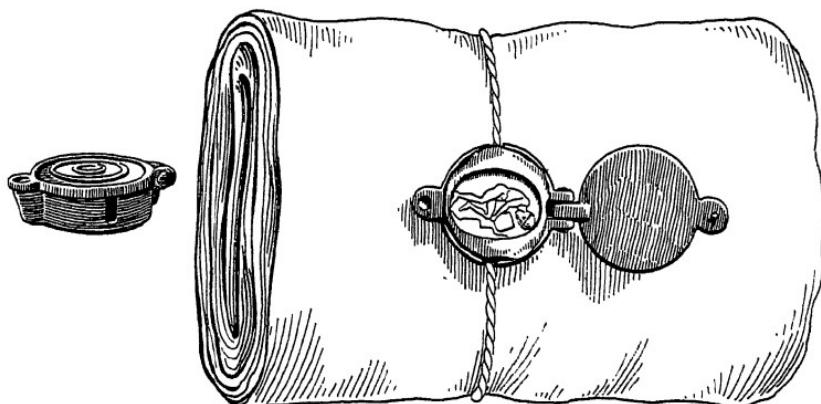
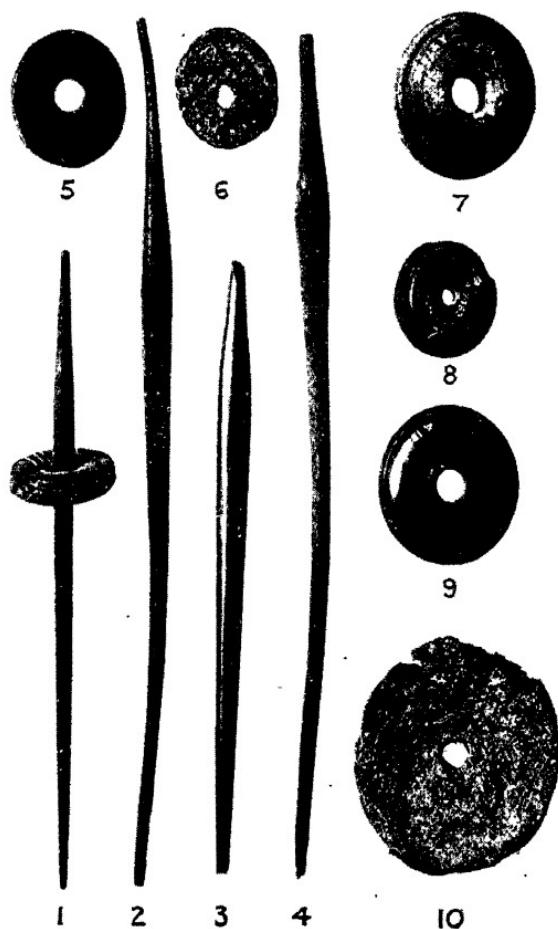


FIG. 33.—Seal-box from London, with diagram to show use. $\frac{2}{3}$.
(See p. 108.)

Seal-box (A 17724), one of several London examples in the Museum; together with diagram to show method of use. Lateral piercings in the box enabled the cord to pass through it, whilst the hinged lid provided for the insertion of the seal. The example illustrated bears traces of green enamel on the lid.

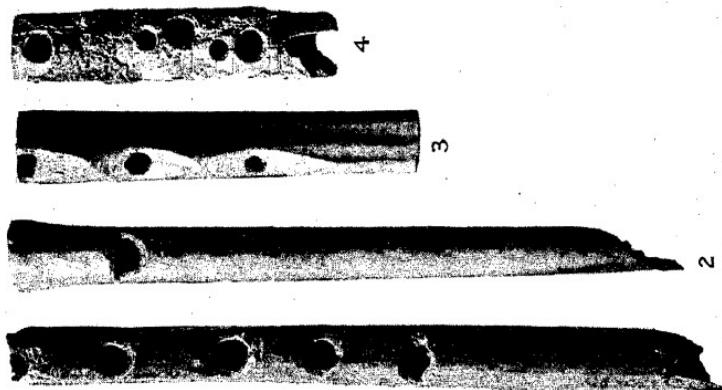
Pl. XLIX

1 and 2 (A 3603 and A 73). Iron spits, from Moorgate Street and Cophall Court respectively. These spits preserve the traditional form of the implement, as it is found, for example, in Etruscan burials of the 8th to 6th centuries B.C. The flattened semicircular head was normally pierced to enable the spit to be hung up when not in use. (For Etruscan prototypes of bronze, see Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie*, II, pt. 2, Fig. 318.)

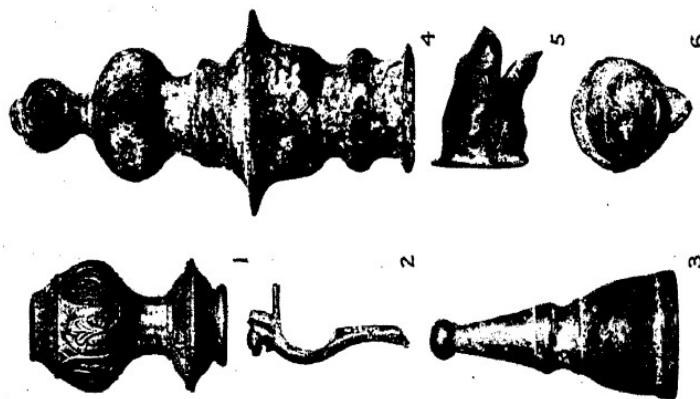


Spindles and spindle-whorls. $\frac{1}{2}$. (See p. 107.)

PLATE XLVII.



B. Bone flutes. 3. (See p. 107.)



A. Bronze fittings. 1. (See p. 107.)

3 (A 4681). Iron fork, for use either in agriculture or in fishing. From Moorgate Street.

4 and 5 (A 51 and A 24452). Bronze hooks (? flesh-hooks, or from steel-yards) found respectively in bed of Walbrook and Angel Court.

6 (A 28334). Iron spearhead with "closed" socket, from Walbrook, Tokenhouse Yard.

Pl. L

1 and 2 (A 16403 and 29.94/22). Fragments of oblong shale plaques with incised decoration; respectively from St. Martins-le-Grand and Poultry. Similar plaques have been found previously in London, but otherwise they are confined almost exclusively to the neighbourhood of the shale deposits of Dorset. Thus several (now in the British Museum) have been found on Jordon's Hill, Weymouth, whilst Pitt-Rivers found another (12½ ins. by 14 ins. by ½ in.) on a hut floor at Rotherley with relics of late 1st-century date (*Cranborne Chase*, II, 174). The plaques are all thin and are decorated on a single face, the back being left comparatively rough. Their purpose is obscure. An example presumably from London, now in the Guildhall Museum, bears a scratched inscription, but there is nothing to be said for the suggestion that they were intended for use as writing-tablets. The variety of their designs is against the likelihood that they were gaming-boards, the only constant features being a central circle (of varying size) and a rectilinear framework. On the other hand, their occurrence in burials, as at Weymouth, seems to imply that they were not ornamental panels for the veneering of walls or furniture. It is probable that they were merely trays, and in favour of this suggestion is the tendency to bevel the back towards the edges, thus enabling the plaque to be picked up without difficulty from a flat surface.

3 (A 22896). Shale dish, from Lombard Street.

4 (A 3123). Part of a platter of turned yew-wood, from Moorgate Street.

Pl. LI and FIG. 34.

The normal method of grinding corn in Roman London was by means of flat rotary hand-querns, as illustrated in this plate. They were made of various coarse stones, including millstone grit and lava from Andernach on the Rhine. The lower stone, which has a slightly conical surface, was fixed, whilst the upper stone, coned inversely to fit on to the lower, was revolved round its axis by means of a wooden or metal handle. The corn, inserted through the central socket of the upper stone, was ground between the two and thus worked its way downwards and outwards. Pl. LI, A, from London.

A larger type of mill, very rare in this country but common at Pompeii and other southern sites, has a bi-conical or hour-glass-shaped upper stone, which is revolved upon a steeply conical lower stone, by means of a heavy wooden lever to which a mule was sometimes attached. The only London example of this type of mill, found in Princes Street and now at the Guildhall Museum, is illustrated in Fig. 34 by courtesy of the Guildhall authorities. It is of lava from Andernach on the Rhine. (See *The Antiquaries Journal*, IX, 220.)

FIG. 35.

Two bronze "dodecahedra" (27.85 and C 996), found respectively in Cornhill and (it is said) on the site of the Thames Embankment.

As usual in these objects, the corners are fitted with ball-feet, and each of the twelve faces is or was pierced with a hole, the diameters being as follows (measured in millimetres): No. 1 (opposite holes grouped in pairs): 9, 10; 11, 18; 12, 14; 17, 18; 18, 19; 19, 21. No. 2 (surviving holes): 18, 25; 25, 33.

About 50 dodecahedra have been found in the northern provinces (but nowhere south of the Alps) as follows: 21 in France, 10 in Germany, 6 in Switzerland, 3 in Holland, 1 in Austria, and from 6 to 8 in Britain. In date, they appear to range from the end of the 1st to the 4th century A.D. Their purpose is unknown, but amongst the conjectures as to their use the following

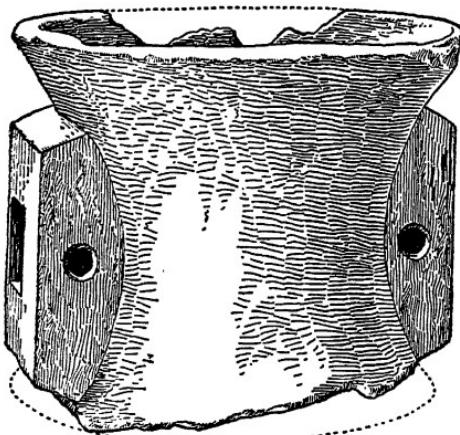
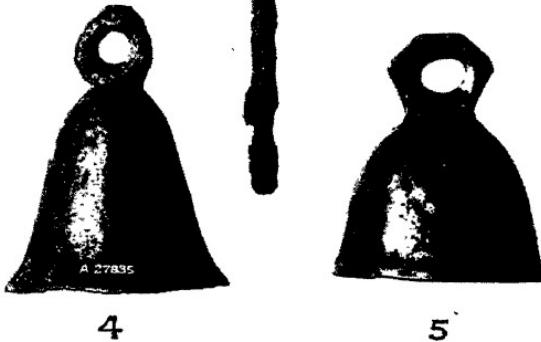
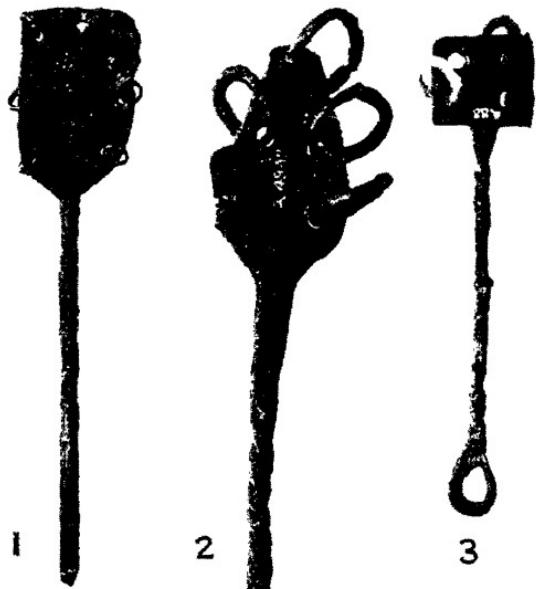
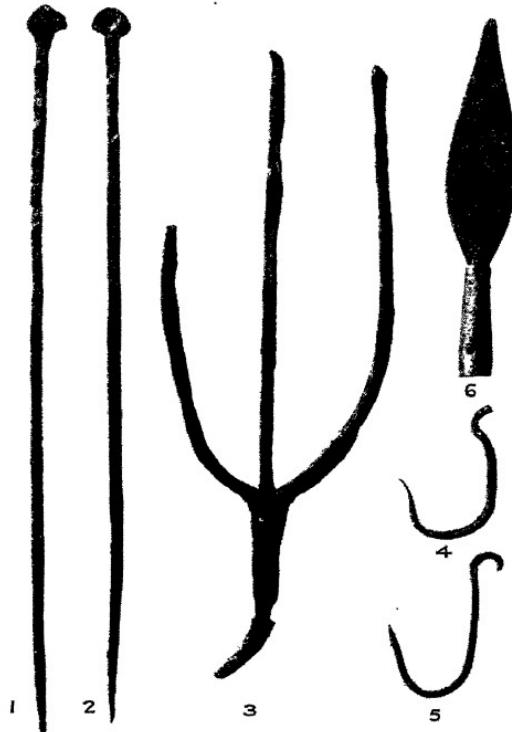


FIG. 34.—Quern-stone of hour-glass form, from Princes Street. Now in the Guildhall Museum. 1². (See p. 109.)

may be mentioned: (a) That they were candlesticks for "home-made" candles of varying size. In support of this, an example found in the German fort of Feldberg is recorded to have retained traces of yellow wax in its hollow interior. (b) That they were stands for small and slender unguent-bottles of varying diameter. (c) As dice, the points scored varying with the size of the uppermost hole after throwing. But the holes are never numbered or marked in any way, as we should expect in such a case. (d) For throwing in the air and catching on a graduated conical stick, the score varying with the diameter of the hole and the penetration of the stick. (e) As a mace-head—a solution impossible for various and obvious reasons. (f) As a calibrating machine, for measuring the diameters of coins. This solution is ruled out by the fact that the holes do not coincide with the sizes of the Imperial coinage. (g) As a gauge for use with a conical stick by a tax-valuer in connection with water-supply; the valuer would thrust the stick into a water-pipe, and then gauge its diameter



1-3, Iron rattles; 4 and 5, bronze bells. $\frac{2}{3}$. (See p. 108.)



1, 2, Iron spits from Moorgate Street and Copthall Court;
3, iron fork from Moorgate Street; 4, 5, bronze hooks,
from Angel Court; 6, iron spearhead from Tokenhouse
Yard. (See pp. 108, 109.)

by fitting the stick into one or other of the holes of the dodecahedron until it stuck at the same point. But, again, in such a case one would expect either the holes of the dodecahedron or the stick to be marked, and, if the latter, why use the former at all?

None of the explanations is fully convincing, whilst several of them are fantastic. The purpose of these objects remains unexplained. (For some of these views, see R. C. Bosanquet, *Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society's Transactions*, Part XLIII, 30).

FIG. 36.

1 (A 4832). Minute pair of bronze pincers, found in Bell Alley. Probably a plaything. Similar small models of pincers were sometimes incorporated in brooches (Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, IV, Taf. 9), or were attached to necklaces or belts to amuse children (Datemberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. *crepundia*).

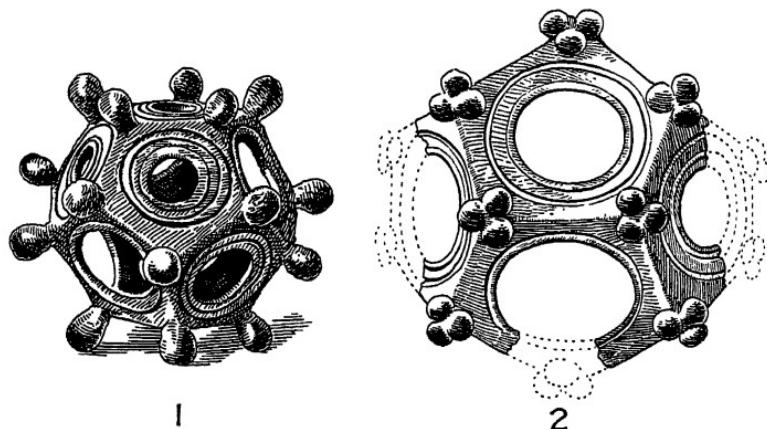


FIG. 35.—Bronze "dodecahedra": 1, from Cornhill; 2, from the Victoria Embankment. $\frac{1}{2}$. (See p. 110.)

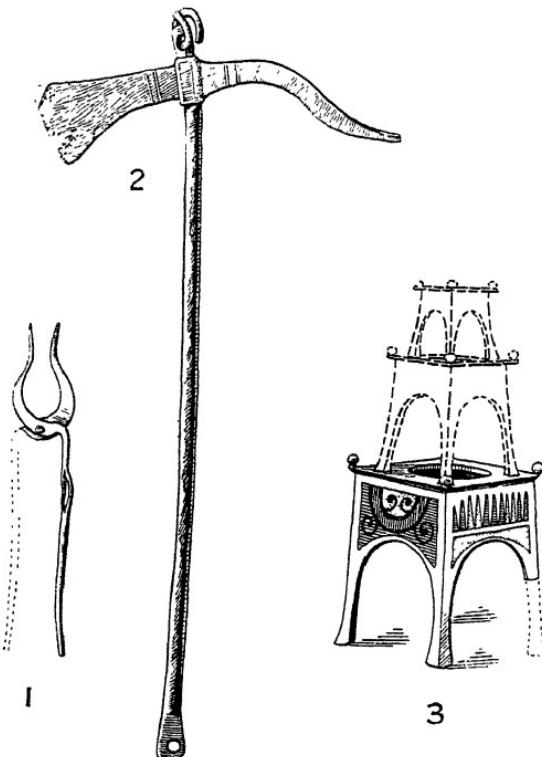
2 (29.49). Model of a *dolabra* or military pioneer's axe, from Poultry. The head is of iron; the shaft is of bronze and is pierced at both ends for suspension. For the use of similar models to amuse children, see under No. 1, above.

3 (A 1262). Small bronze "table" or "stool," decorated with yellow and green enamel. Found in Finsbury Circus. Similar tables have been found on several civil sites in southern Britain. An example from Caerwent, now in the Newport Museum, shows that these "tables" were fastened together in tiers of three or more, each successive tier diminishing in size (somewhat like the receding stages of a Roman lighthouse). The circular apertures diminish proportionately, so that it is difficult to regard these curious objects as candlesticks; nor are the alternative explanations that they were flower-stands or pin-holders entirely convincing.

FIG. 37.

1 (27.94). Bronze pendant, from Tokenhouse Yard. The woven chain holds a small repoussé medallion bearing a diademed head confronted by a spear; below this hangs a lunate amulet. For similar examples, see Lindenau, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, II, Heft X, Taf. 4.

2 (29.174). Bronze repoussé medallion, from London. Doubtless from a pendant similar to the preceding. In front of the head is a sceptre.

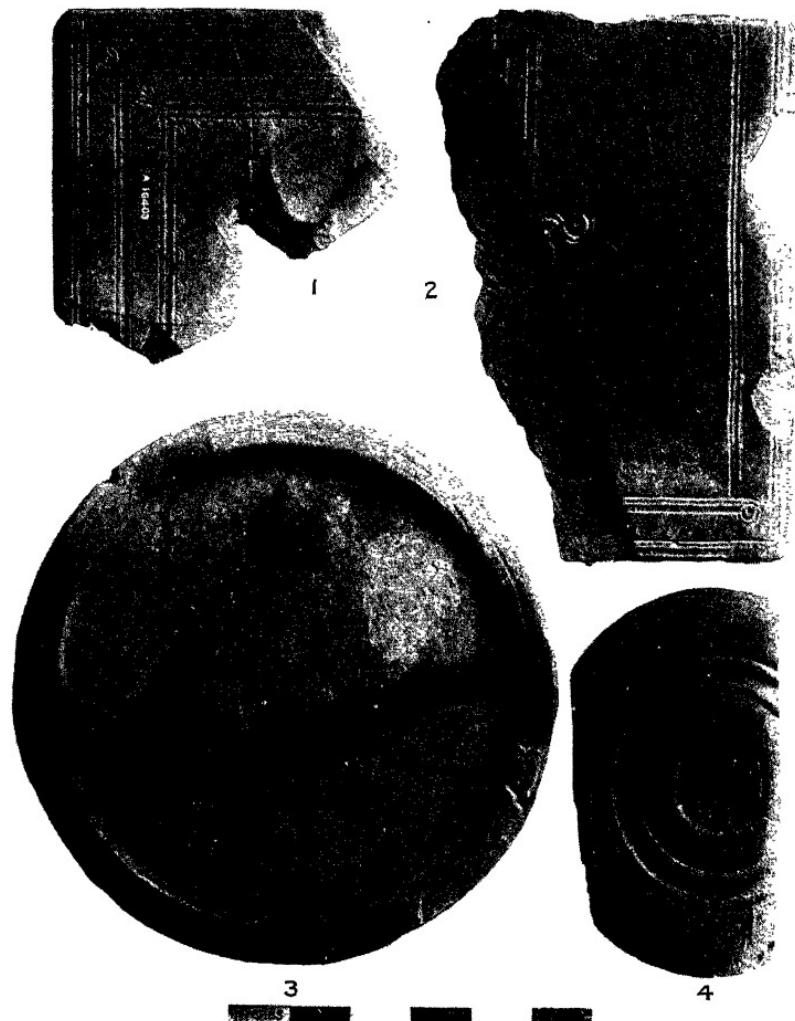


G. 36.—1, Model pincers of bronze from Bell Alley; model pioneer's axe from Poultry; enamelled bronze "table" from Finsbury Circus ½.
(See p. 111.)

3 (A 26421). Bronze medallion of a bearded head of a type dating probably from the second half of the 3rd century A.D. From Paternoster Row.

4 (A 24074). Bronze stud with an incised representation of a bird (? eagle). From Miles Lane.

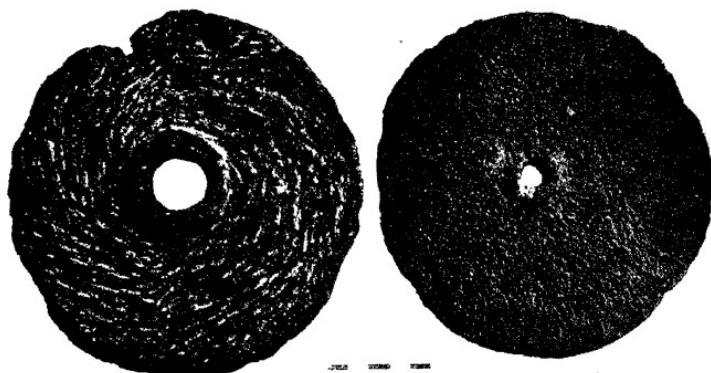
5 (A 28355). Bronze mounting with a terminal in the form of a conventionalized bird (? dove). From Devonshire Square.



1, 2, Shale plaques from St. Martin's-le-Grand and Poultry; 3, shale dish from Lombard Street; 4, yew plate from Moorgate Street.

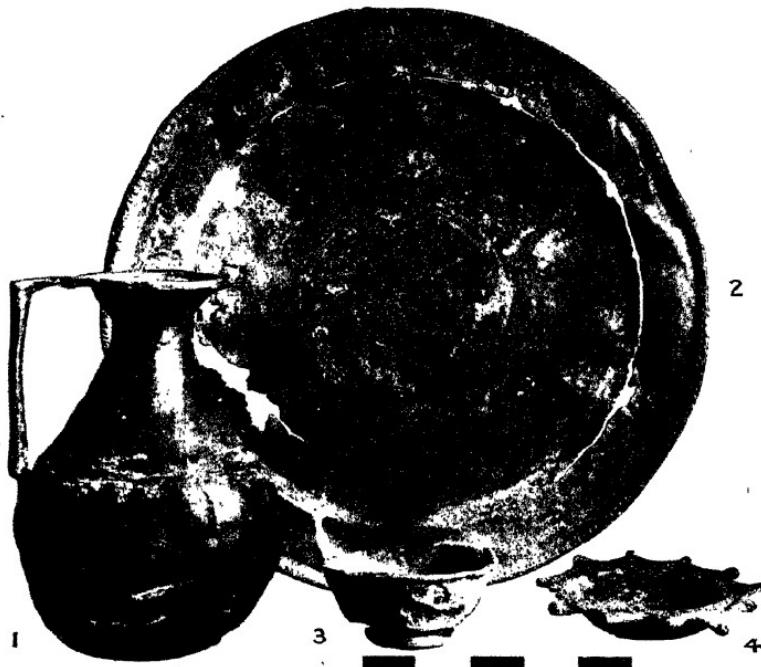
Scale of inches. $\frac{1}{2}$. (See pp. 32, 109.)

PLATE LI.



A. Upper and lower quern-stones.

Scale of inches. (See p. 110.)



B. Pewter: 1, jug from Moorgate Street; 2, plate from Isleworth (see also Fig. 2, p. 25); 3, cup from London Wall; 4, bowl of vessel from Bishopsgate Street.
Scale of inches. (See pp. 25, 117ff.)

18. METAL VESSELS

(i) JUGS

Amongst the metal jugs, whole or fragmentary, in the Museum, two of the principal Roman types of this class of vessel are represented, and, since the chronological development of these types has not hitherto been concisely stated, a prefatory note on this point, illustrated by dated examples



FIG. 37.—1, bronze pendant from Tokenhouse Yard; 2, part of bronze pendant from London; 3, bronze boss from Paternoster Row; 4, bronze stud from Miles Lane; 5, bronze mounting from Devonshire Square.

Scale : 1, 2, 4, $\frac{1}{2}$; 3, 5, $\frac{1}{2}$. (See p. 112.)

from other Roman sites (Fig. 38), may be convenient for reference. The two types may be known respectively as A and B, and are as follows.

Type A. Rather bulky, wide-mouthed jugs, with a broad neck which merges without division into the body. The type

occurs abundantly at Pompeii (A 1 in the illustration), i.e. before A.D. 79; and a pottery replica was found with other pottery of the period Nero-Vespasian at Bonn (H. Lehner, *Novesium*, 352), and Taf. XXVII, 28.

The development of the type after the first century A.D. is not well represented by metal examples, but the tradition was maintained in pottery. Type A 2 is a pottery jug from a deposit of about A.D. 120 at Caerleon in Monmouthshire; the foot is more slender than in A 1, and a horizontal line of division between neck and shoulder has been introduced, either by analogy with Type B (below) or, more probably for the technical reason that it is easier to make the neck and body of a pottery-jug in separate pieces and to join them subsequently. Type A 3 shows the same tradition as represented in the German fort of Niederbieber soon after A.D. 200. The structural division between neck and shoulder is maintained but not emphasised, whilst the slenderness of the foot is more definitely marked. In the third and fourth centuries the type survives in a modified form, usually with a spout, and was adopted by the Merovingian potters.

Type B has a relatively narrow and graceful neck which, in the first and second centuries A.D., is clearly demarcated from a somewhat bulbous body by a horizontal ledge or moulding, which is frequently further emphasised by a band of decoration. B 1 is a characteristic example from Pompeii (prior to A.D. 79). B 2 represents the type as found at Newstead in Scotland and Bayford in Kent at the end of the first and the beginning of the second centuries (compare Pl. LVII, 5, below). B 3, in the absence of a well-dated example, is not illustrated; but it can be inferred from the ultimate form which the type assumed in the late third and fourth centuries (B 4 and 5). B 4, from the Chaource (Aisne) Treasure in the British Museum, was associated with a coin of Postumus (A.D. 267) and may be taken to represent the type after the middle of the third century. The form B 4 does not occur in the German Limes forts which were evacuated about A.D. 256, but is identical with that of pottery copies made at or near Worms and elsewhere on the Rhine from the end of the third century onwards (see W. Unverzagt, *Die Keramik des Kastells Alzen*, 22). In

this late type, all sense of structural division between neck and body is lost ; the two merge imperceptibly into one another and the band of ornament which had formerly marked the division on the shoulder has now become a purely decorative cordon round the neck. This final bottle-type lasted

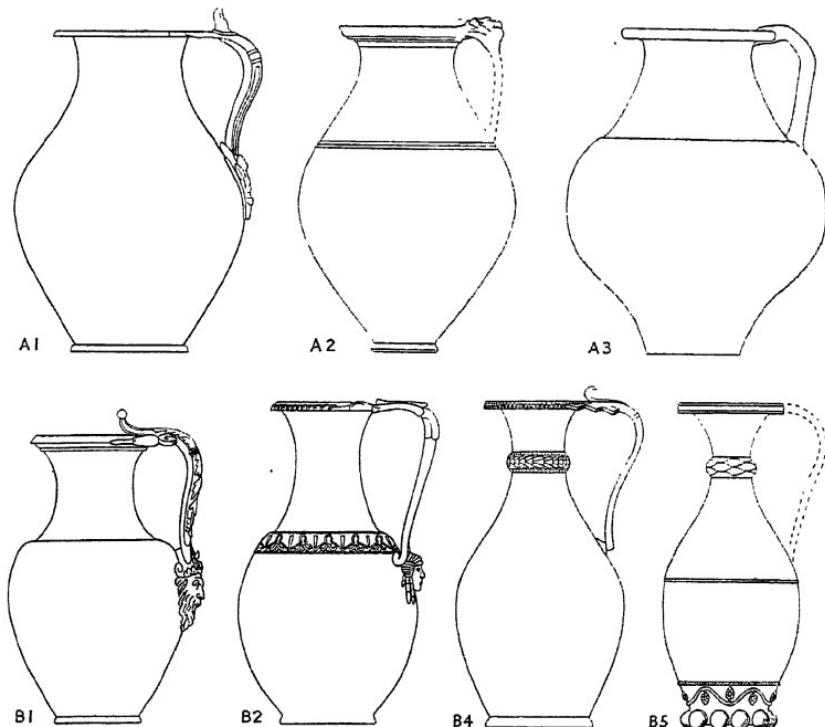


FIG. 38.—Types of metal jugs: A₁, 1st century; A₂, 2nd century; A₃, 3rd century; B₁, mid 1st century; B₂, late 1st century; B₄, mid 3rd century; B₅, 4th century.

long, and is further illustrated by B₅, adapted from an example in the Traprain (Scotland) hoard, which was associated with coins of Honorius (about A.D. 400).

It stands to reason that a durable and sometimes precious vessel like a metal jug must often have remained long in use, but the general process of evolution here indicated and

ascribed to the second and third centuries is, in its main outline, borne out by many examples. The transitional phases still require further investigation and illustration.

Pl. LIIA (28.61). Bronze jug of Type A 1 and cooking-pot, or "camp-kettle," found together at the bottom of a Roman well in Cornhill. Given by the National Art Collections Fund. The vessels had been sealed in a clay-deposit, and thus preserve their original golden colour. The jug is plain save for a palmette at the base of the handle, but is a fine example of the metal-worker's craft. The type occurs abundantly at Pompeii, and the present example is probably, therefore, of 1st-century date.

The cooking-pot has lost its wire handle but is otherwise complete. Its base, which had doubtless perished in the heat of the hearth, has been heavily repaired with lead. These cooking-pots are not uncommon; seven, for example, were found at Newstead in Scotland, one of them in the ditch of the late 1st-century fort.

Pl. LIIB, 1, and frontispiece (A 27755). Bronze jug (neck restored) of Type B 1 or 2, with handle terminating at lower end in a very fine bearded head, probably of an Ocean deity, with winged monsters intertwined in the hair. Found on the north side of Threadneedle Street.

Pl. LIIB, 2 (A 27337). Bronze jug, with bead-line below rim, and handle terminating at lower end in a bust, possibly of Cybele. Found in Threadneedle Street.

Fig. 39 (A 2396). Neck of bronze jug, of Type B 4, decorated with ovololo-pattern round the rim and round a raised band on the shoulder. Probably 3rd-4th century. Found on the site of Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street. (Ex Hilton Price Collection.)

The collection includes also the handles of four bronze jugs, found respectively on the sites of Lloyd's in Leadenhall Street and of Lloyd's Bank in King William Street, and in Paternoster Row and Threadneedle Street. The last (A 27129) is said to have been "found with coins of Ethelstan and Edmund" (A.D. 924-946), but is a plain handle of Roman type.

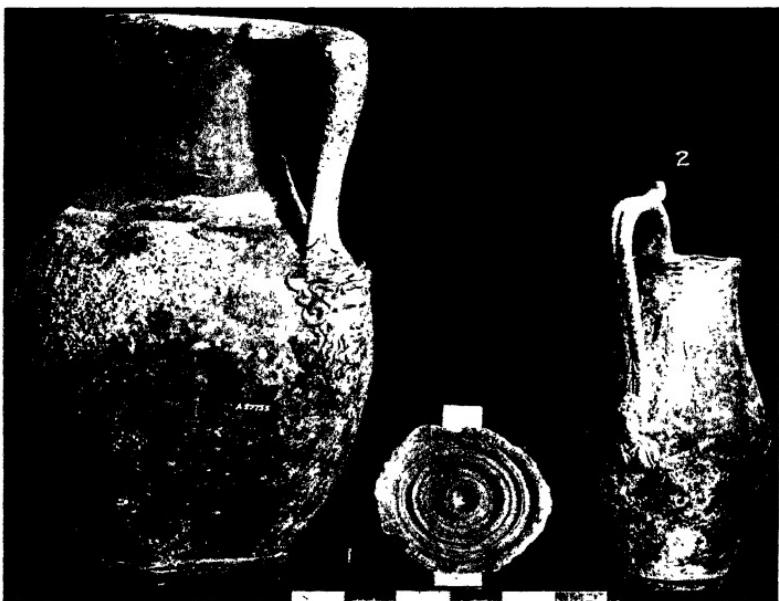
Pl. LIB, 1 (A 27604). Pewter jug, with two double incised lines round the neck, and handle terminating at lower end in plain ivy-leaf. Found, crushed flat, in Moorgate Street.

(ii) PANS

Fig. 40, 1 (A 16263). Bronze *patera* or saucepan, with the maker's name P(VBLI) RVF(INI?) C (?), i.e. "made by Publius Rufinus C——." The name of this maker does not appear to have been recorded previously. The *patera* illustrates the 2nd-century tendency to strengthen and emphasise the foot-stand, which, in 1st-century examples, was liable to be weak and inadequate. (For *paterae* generally, see R. C. Bosanquet, *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1927-8, p. 246). Found at Potter's Fields, Bermondsey.

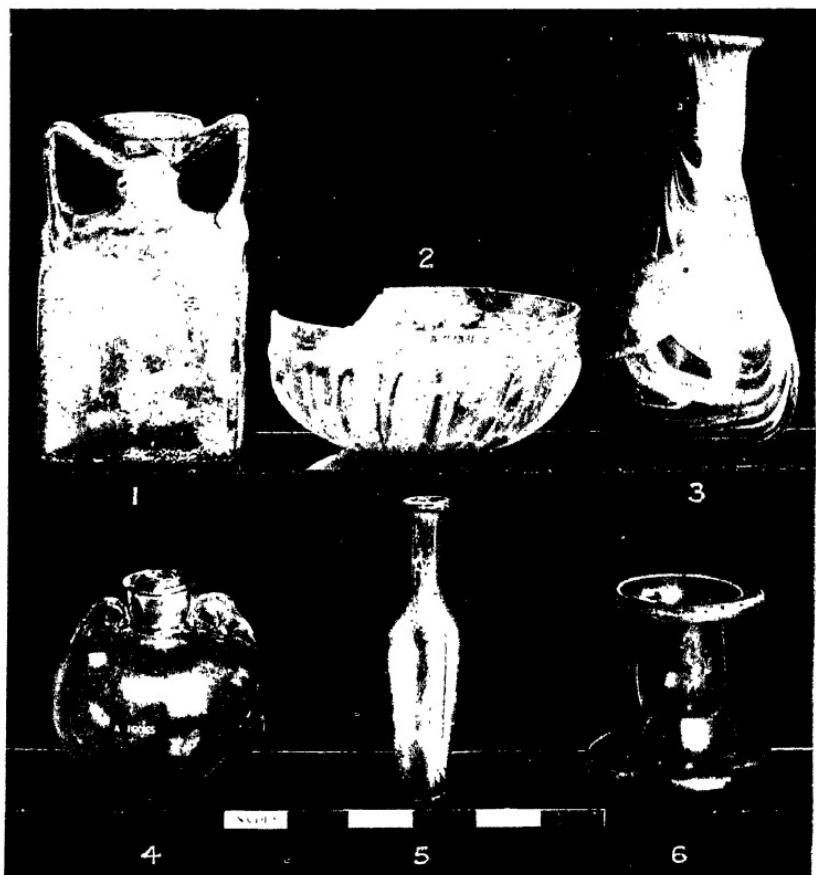


A. Bronze jug and "kettle" from Cornhill.
Scale of inches. (See p. 116.)



B. Bronze jugs from Threadneedle Street. (The base of 1 shown separately;
see also frontispiece.)
Scale of inches. (See p. 116.)

PLATE LIII.



Glass vessels.

Scale of inches. (See p. 121.)

Fig. 40, 2 (A 2827). Handle of bronze *patera*, repaired with two iron rivets and bearing, both above and below, an illegible ansate stamp which appears to include the letters L . . . SI and may be that of Lucius Ansius. The Ansii were a family of craftsmen whose *paterae* occur at Pompeii (*i.e.* before A.D. 79) and widely throughout the northern provinces. The ansate or "eared" stamp on the present example is an unusual feature. Found on the site of Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street.

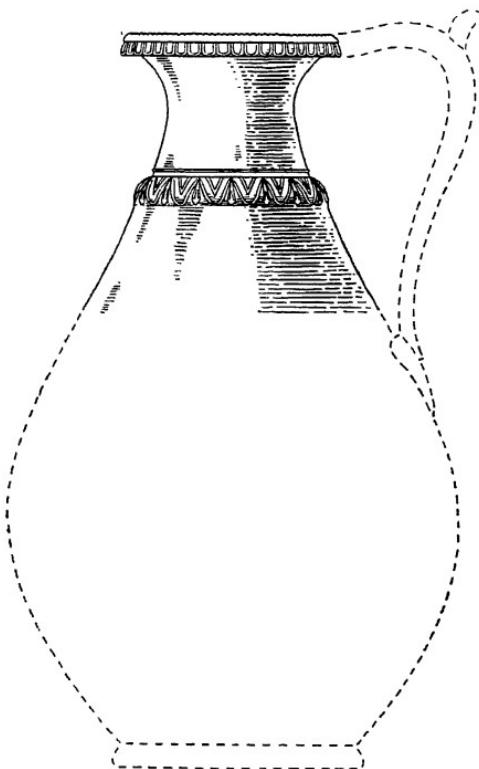


FIG. 39.—Bronze jug from Christ's Hospital. $\frac{1}{3}$. (See p. 116.)

Fig. 40, 3 (A 20927). Remains of iron *patera* with "key-hole" piercing in the handle. This "key-hole" is explained by the discovery, in the smaller baths at Pompeii, of a similar *patera* strung on a ring, which passes through the "key-hole" and also holds an oil-flask and four strigils (for which, see p. 82). The whole group of bronzes (illustrated in *Real Museo Borbonico*, VII, Pl. XVI) was clearly connected with the toilet, and it has been suggested that *paterae* of this type were used for taking hot water from the tank and pouring

it over the body. No maker's name, such as is commonly found on the handles of these *paterae*, is now visible on the present example. Found in Leadenhall Street.

Fig. 41 (A 37). Iron frying-pan (possibly a variety of the *sartago* mentioned by "Apicius"), of oval shape, with short flanged lug in which a movable handle (now lost) was formerly pivoted. When not in use, the handle could thus be folded back over the pan, a device which would facilitate the packing of the utensil and may have arisen from military needs. Only five other

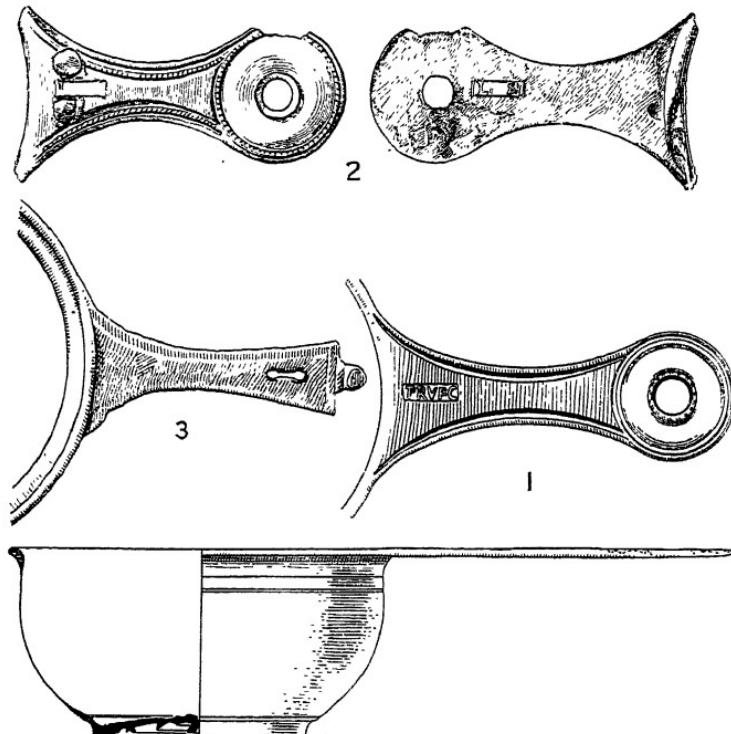


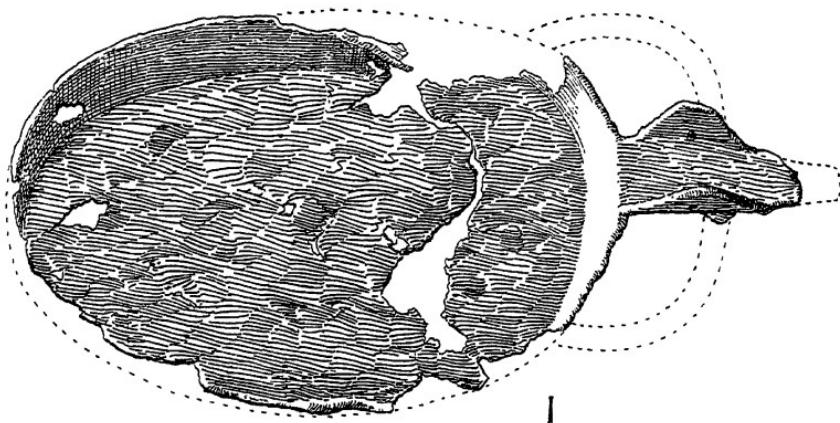
FIG. 40.—Saucepans or *paterae*: 1, of bronze, from Bermondsey; 2, of bronze, from Christ's Hospital; 3, of iron, from Leadenhall Street. $\frac{1}{3}$. (See p. 116.)

examples of oval shape with the folding handle seem to have been recorded. Four, from Egypt, are in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, and the handle of one of them is illustrated here to show the type; a fifth has been found at Rheims. (See C. G. Harcum, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 2nd Series, XXV, 1921, No. 1, p. 44.) Found in Lombard Street.

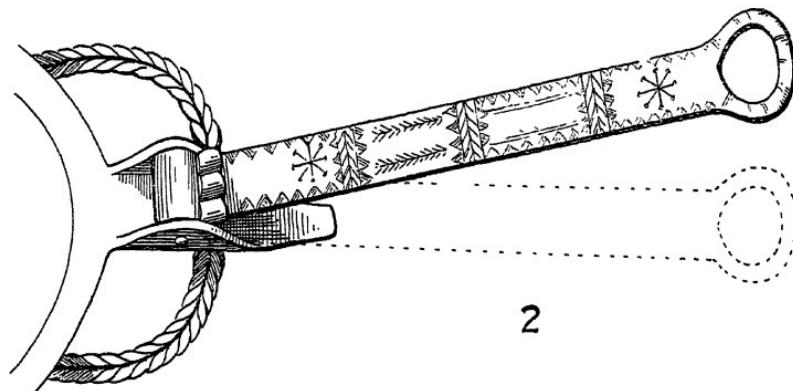
(iii) CUPS AND BOWLS

Pl. LI b, 3 (A 247). Pewter cup of form similar to the Samian type 33. From London Wall.

Pl. LI B, 4 (A 27937). Bowl of cup, of lead or pewter, with scalloped edge, each of the twelve cusps ending in a knob. There is a small central hole for the attachment of the missing stem. Found at the corner of Artillery Lane and Bishopsgate Street.



1



2

FIG. 41.—1, Iron frying-pan, formerly with folding handle, from Lombard Street; 2, complete handle of a similar pan from Egypt, now at Toronto. $\frac{1}{3}$. (See p. 118.)

Fig. 3 (A 246). Small pewter bowl, with row of beads on flange. On the base a rough *Chi-Rho* (the two first Greek letters of the name of Christ) has been scratched in ancient times. This is the only evidence in the Museum for Christianity in London in Roman times. (See above, p. 25.) Found in Copthall Court.

A similar *Chi-Rho* is scratched on the base of a small pewter dish in the Appleshaw hoard (see below). The bead-pattern on the flange is characteristic of late classical work, and occurs plentifully, for example, in the Traprain Treasure (4th-5th century A.D.).

(iv) PLATE

Pl. LI b, 2, and Fig. 2 (A 19574). Pewter plate, with coarsely milled edge and, in the centre a crude, star-shaped interlace incised, apparently by means of a cogged roulette, within a circular border which is in turn fringed with a roughly incised ray-pattern.

Found in the Tharnes at Isleworth. Roman pewter is not well dated in this country, but seems mostly to belong to the 4th century. The central pattern on the Isleworth plate is a poor version of the elaborate interlaces, consisting partly of straight and partly of curved lines, found on dishes such as those which their Romano-British owner had concealed, apparently in the middle of the 4th century, beneath the floor of his house at Appleshaw, Hants (see *Archaeologia*, LVI, 9).

19. GLASS

Roman glass is abundant in London and was possibly manufactured there (above, p. 32). It ranges from plain window-glass to elaborate polychromatic vessels of millefiori, formed by fusing together differently coloured glass rods. Window-glass is found in Italy (as at Pompeii), but is especially common in the northern provinces where the harder weather conditions seem to have encouraged the use of this protection. Fragments from London are exhibited. The various types of glass vessel are derived partly (like the art of glass-blowing itself) from Egypt and, to a less extent, from classical prototypes, generally of metal. Alexandria formed the main point of convergence for the two traditions, although Thebes, Diospolis and other Egyptian and East-Mediterranean cities were also famous for their glass; and it was largely through Alexandria that, in the first century B.C., Rome acquired its taste for glass. During the first century A.D. the use of this material spread widely throughout the provinces, and later developments owed not a little to the initiative of provincial factories. In particular, a series of flourishing factories sprang up in the Rhineland at Worms, Kreuznach, Trier and, above all, at Cologne, whence in the 3rd and 4th centuries issued great quantities of vessels, often elaborately decorated with applied strips and beads of coloured glass. These

vessels provide a direct link with the skilful glass-wares of the Merovingian period.

Neither this late polychrome glass nor another late type, with intricate incised ornament, is commonly found in London, where most of the upper and later Roman strata have long been removed; but of the earlier varieties the Museum contains a representative series, of which a few examples are illustrated both here and above, under "Burials" (p. 41 and Pls. XIII and XIV). For Roman glass generally, see Morin-Jean, *La Verrerie en Gaule sous l'Empire romain* (Paris, 1913); G. Behrens, *Römische Gläser aus Deutschland* (Mainz, Römisch-Germanische Central-Museum); and A. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertum* (Leipzig, 1908).

Pl. LIII

1 (A 16055). Two-handled bottle, of green glass; found probably in Southwark. Rectangular bottles of this type were in common use between about A.D. 80 and 150.

2 (A 27331). "Pillar-moulded" bowl of bluish-green glass, found in Fenchurch Street, in association, it is said, with a Samian dish made by LICINVS, a South Gaulish potter of mid 1st-century date. Pillared glass bowls, derived probably from fluted metal prototypes, were abundant from the end of the 1st century B.C. to the end of the 1st-century A.D.; they are very rare after A.D. 100. For example, they are numerous both at Haltern and at Hofheim, but hardly ever occur in the forts of the German Limes.

3 (A 27474). Bottle of yellowish-green glass streaked with white, found in Old Broad Street in association, it is said, with a green-glazed sherd of 1st-century date.

4. (A 16055). Small round two-handled bottle of bluish-green glass, found probably in Southwark. From the conformation of the handles of some specimens, these small bottles are sometimes known as "dolphin-flasks." They occur at Cologne and Rheinzaibern in graves of the Antonine period (about A.D. 240-280), and lasted well into the 3rd century.

5 (A 20352). Small "tear-bottle" found with a cremation-burial of mid 2nd-century date in Mansell Street. (See also p. 41, No. 8.)

6 (A 6455). Small bottle of bluish-green glass, found near the Royal Exchange. A similar example found in a burial at Nîmes in 1927 was associated with a coin of Trajan, A.D. 98-117 (E. Esperandieu, in *Revue des Musées*, No. 18, Dijon, 1928).

FIG. 42.

1 (A 28278). Glass beaker with cut decoration. From King William Street. Cut decoration, generally of a simple character, is found on Roman glass

dating from the end of the 1st century A.D. onwards, but became increasingly popular under the later Empire. The decoration of the later examples tends to approximate to line-engraving, and elaborate figure-subjects are sometimes attempted. Coarse cutting, such as that on the present beaker, is likely to be of somewhat earlier period, but analogous examples at Cologne are dated as late as the 3rd century, A.D. (see F. Fremersdorf, *Die Denkmäler des römischen Köln*, I, Taf. 38 and 39).

2 (A 28279). Glass beaker with cut decoration. From King William Street. Of similar type to the preceding example.

3 (A 28289). Fragment of glass beaker, with cut decoration. From King William Street.

4 (A 22557). Glass plate, of a deep iridescent blue colour. From King William Street.

5 (A 16837). Small green glass bowl, ornamented with pillar-moulding. From London. For this 1st-century type of decoration, see above, Pl. LIII, 2.

6 (A 26375). Fragment of small green glass bowl, ornamented with pillar-moulding and moulded bosses, etc., in relief. From Nicholas Lane.

7 (A 21046). Fragment of white glass beaker, with oval and rosette ornament in relief. From Leadenhall Street. This type of applied or relief-ornament is specially characteristic of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., and was popular amongst the Rhenish glass factories.

8 (A 25462). Neck of jug of amber-coloured glass. From Nicholas Lane. Jugs with long, graceful necks and handles of this type are characteristic of the 1st and early 2nd century A.D. The earlier examples, as at Claudian Hofheim, are without a base-ring (see the dotted "restoration" of the present example); later, as in an example from the Litlington cemetery, now in the Cambridge Museum, a base-ring is usual.

9 (A 9276). Mask of dark blue glass. From Cheapside. Similar masks or "Medusa heads" were not infrequently used to decorate Roman glass vessels. For example, a 1st-century jug similar to the preceding (No. 8), now in the British Museum, bears a mask of this type (*Brit. Mus. Guide to Roman Britain*, Fig. 123 f.), and other masks occur at Haltern (11 B.C.-A.D. 16). Yet other examples are ascribed to the 4th century A.D. (F. Fremersdorf, *Die Denkmäler des römischen Köln*, I, Taf. 43).

20. POTTERY

(i) RED-GLAZED WARE *

Amongst the most characteristic relics of the Roman period in the north-western provinces of the Empire are the sherds and vessels of red-glazed pottery; and no site in the kingdom has been so productive in this respect as London.

* This section has been contributed by Mr. T. Davies Pryce, F.S.A.

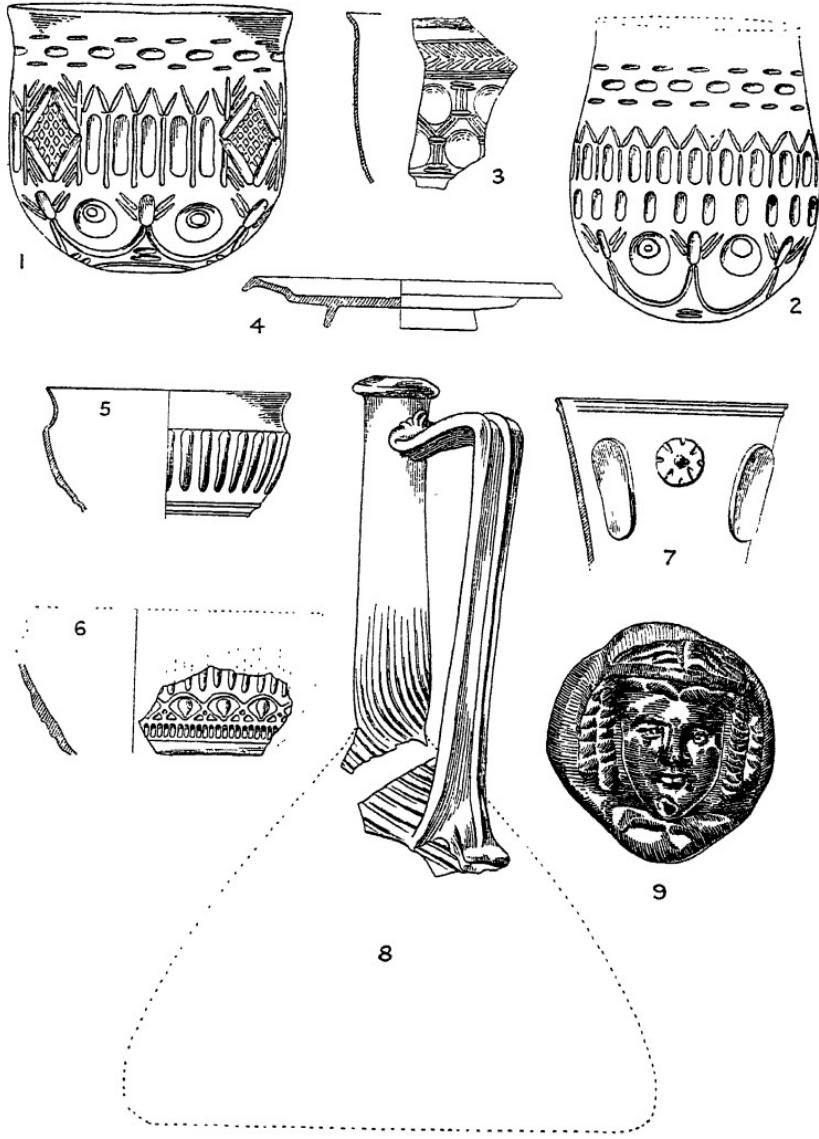


FIG. 42.—Glass. Scale: 1-8, $\frac{1}{3}$; 9, $\frac{2}{3}$. (See p. 121.)

This pottery falls into two classes : (a) Italian ware, and (b) provincial ware.

(a) *Italian Ware*. During the first century B.C. potteries were established at Arretium (the modern Arezzo) and elsewhere in Italy.

From about 30 B.C. to about 20 A.D. these potteries produced large quantities of vessels (chiefly imitations or adaptations of metal shapes) in a fine red or yellowish-red clay, coated with a glaze of dull red, or slightly orange-red colour. These vessels were sometimes plain but were often decorated in relief either by impressing the unbaked pot into a stamped mould or by means of ornamentation applied to its surface. The latter method of ornamentation was more particularly used in the decoration of cups and plates, as on the plate from Tooley Street (Fig. 43, 2). From its principal place of manufacture this fabric is commonly known as Arretine ware. During the flourishing period of the Italian potteries their wares were widely distributed throughout the Empire, for many examples have been found in the cities of the Mediterranean littoral, such as Ephesus, Pergamon and Priene, and also on Augustan sites in the western provinces, such as Mont Beuvray, Xanten, Sels and Haltern.

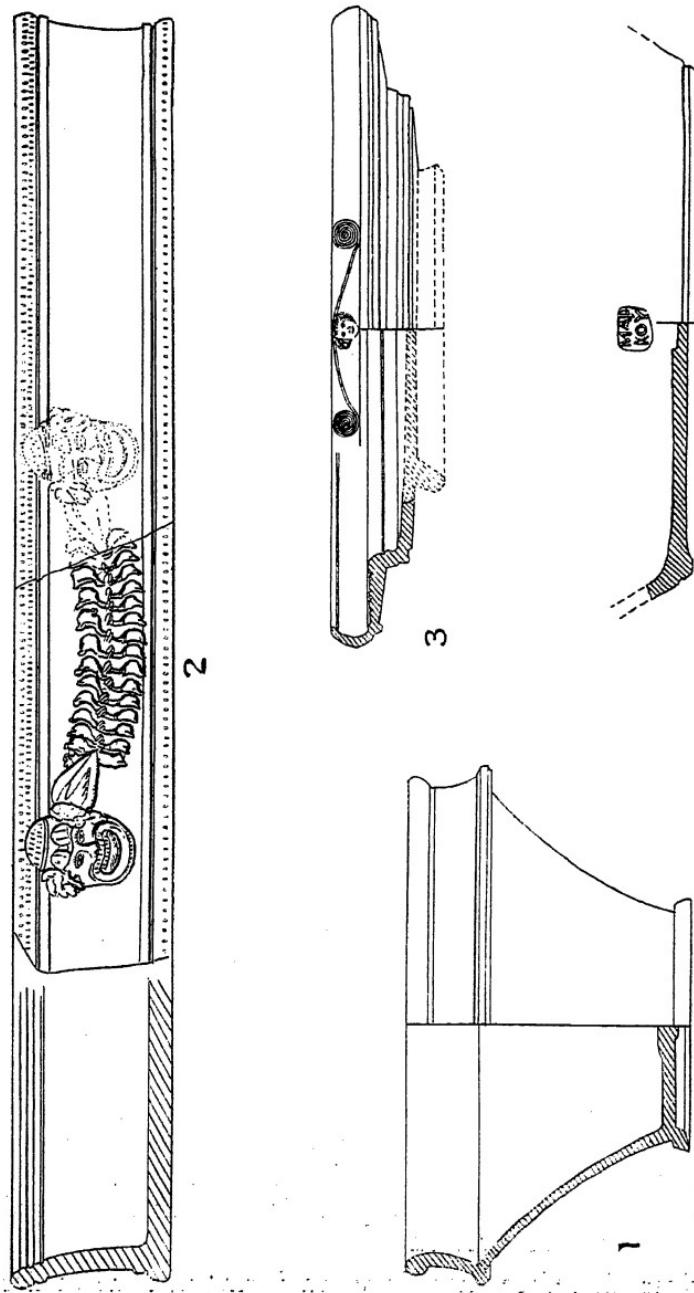
Soon after A.D. 20, the establishment of a number of enterprising provincial factories of closely similar ware (see below, p. 126) induced a marked decline in the export trade of the Italian potteries, and, although Italian ware was still produced on a smaller scale for the home-market until about A.D. 70 to 80, only a few fragments have been found on sites that were not occupied before the time of Claudius (A.D. 41-54). The question whether the fragments of Italian ware found in London reached the site of the city before or after the invasion in A.D. 43 is referred to above (p. 17).

Three examples of this Italian ware, together with a sherd of red pottery from some unidentified factory in the Mediterranean area, are preserved in the Museum.

Fig. 43, 1 (A 14403). Cup of Loeschke Type 8 and Ritterling Type 5, found under Leadenhall Market. The rim and wall-moulding lack the rouletting which characterizes examples of the Augustan period, and the present cup was

FIG. 43.—Mediterranean wares (Arretine, etc.):⁷ 1, from Leadenhall Market; 2, from Toleary Street, Southwark; 3, from London; 4, from Leadenhall Street, $\frac{1}{2}$. (See pp. 124, 126.)

(A.M.A.)



therefore probably made some years after the beginning of the 1st century A.D. It bears the stamp AMAB, a mark which occurs at Arezzo.

Fig. 43, 2 (A 17498). Fragment of a straight-sided plate, found in Tooley Street, Southwark. Below the rouletted rim, the side of the vessel is decorated with an applied pattern in relief, representing a festoon swung between theatrical masks.

Fig. 43, 3 (A 5299). Part of a plate with indent rim, found in London. The wall is decorated with a spiral "handle" and a mask in applied relief.

Fig. 43, 4 (29.94). A portion of the flat base of a plate bearing the Greek stamp *MAP KOY* (*i.e.* "made by Marcus"), found in Leadenhall Street. It has a diminutive footstand. Red-glazed pottery carrying Greek stamps in double rows has been plentifully found on eastern Mediterranean sites, such as Ephesus, Pergamon and Priene. It has generally been regarded as the prototype of Arretine ware, but its frequent association with this Italian fabric suggests that much of it is of contemporary manufacture.

(b) *Provincial (Gaulish) Ware.*—About A.D. 20 provincial factories began to imitate the red-glazed ware of Arretium, often improving upon the contemporary products of the Italian potteries. The provincial ware of this type is known to English writers by the misnomer "Samian," although it has nothing to do with Samos; whilst Continental writers include it under the generic term "terra sigillata" or ware stamped with ornamental patterns, which is also inaccurate, in that much of it is devoid of decoration.

Here the term "Gaulish ware" is used for this provincial glazed pottery, since its manufacture was confined to Gaul and western Germany. In spite of the discovery of one or two moulds and wasters in Britain, there is no good evidence that this ware was ever made here. The earliest Gaulish factories were in the south, particularly at La Graufesenque in the Aveyron. Already in the second half of the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 25-37), these factories were exporting their products to Spain, Central Gaul and to the early military sites of the western provinces, such as Mainz and Sels.

At the time of the invasion of Britain (A.D. 43), the export trade of the South Gaulish factories was well established, as is shown by the plentiful supply of their wares to Hofheim (A.D. 40-51), and considerable quantities of this red-glazed fabric quickly reached London.

It is clear, therefore, that if we can distinguish the earlier

(Claudian) examples of this ware from those which were produced, say, after the time of Boudicca's rebellion in A.D. 61, we shall be able, by noting the distribution of these earlier pieces, to form some notion as to the general extent of the first Roman city. A summary of the historical results of this inquiry has been anticipated above (p. 17), but a brief statement of some of the evidence upon which these conclusions have been formed may be given in this context.

In order to establish the chronology of this pre-Boudiccan ware on a sound basis, it is essential that those pieces or fragments which bear the characteristics of this fabric as found on sites that were occupied in one or other or all the reigns of Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius, should be particularly studied, *i.e.* during the period A.D. 25-54.

Fortunately for the purposes of this inquiry, abundant material is forthcoming from a number of well-dated sites, chiefly situated on the frontiers of the western provinces of the Empire. The initial dates of occupation of some of these sites, which are mentioned below, are as follows :

Bregenz—Late Republic ;

Mainz—Augustus ;

Sels—Augustus to Gaius ; almost all the Gaulish ware antedates the year A.D. 41 ;

Wiesbaden—Augustus ;

Xanten—Tiberius ;

Aislingen—Tiberius ;

Hofheim ; earliest occupation—Gaius-Claudius, A.D. 40-51 ;

The features which distinguished this early or Tiberio-Claudian ware may conveniently be considered under the headings of form, glaze, decoration and potters' stamps.

(a) *Form*.—The following forms * have been found on these early sites :—

The decorated types Dragendorff 11, 29 and 30.

The plain types Ritterling 1, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, Dragendorff 15/17, 16, 17, 18, 22, 24/25, 27 and 33.

With the exception of the plain forms Ritterling 1 and 5 and Dragendorff 17, none of them is peculiar to the Tiberio-Claudian period. The assignment of particular examples to the early age of the Gaulish industry is therefore dependent on a detailed study of glaze, construction, decoration (when present) and of the associated potters' stamps. It may, however, be noted that forms 8, 9, 10, 12, 16 and 24/25 are especially characteristic of this period, and when found in

* A case containing numbered examples of each of these forms can be seen in the Museum.

relative abundance they constitute good presumptive evidence of an early date. Thus, the little cup 24/25 is extremely common at Hofheim, but only in the older (Claudian) period. So also, in London this form is remarkably abundant. There are twenty-three examples with decipherable signatures in this Museum alone. Most of the plain forms enumerated above will be noticed in association with their illustrations. Here it is only necessary to draw attention to some of the early features of the decorated bowls 11, 29 and 30.

The Crater, Form 11.—This vessel occurs almost exclusively in the Tiberio-Claudian period; quite exceptionally, it was manufactured as late as the "turn"

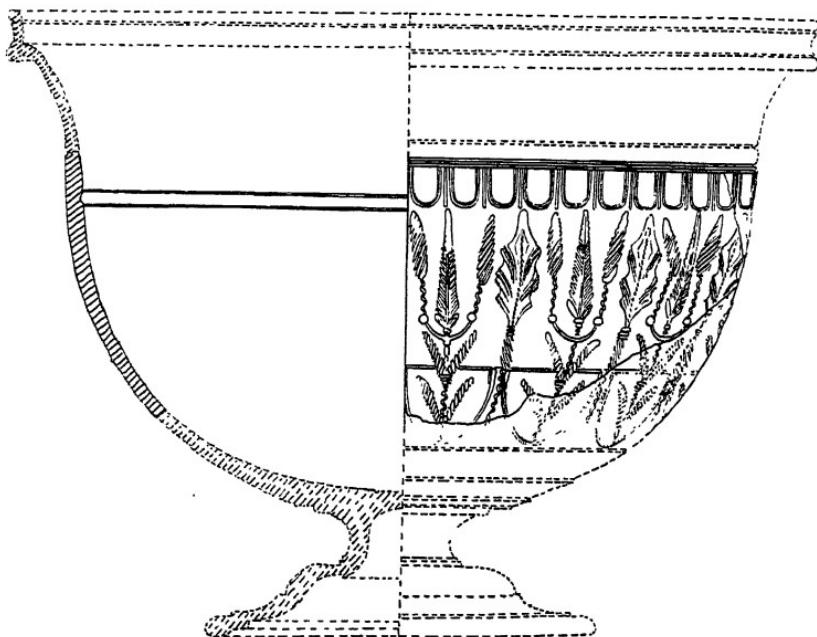


FIG. 44.—Crater of Samian (Gaulish) ware from Angel Court. $\frac{1}{2}$. (See pp. 128, 132, 134.)

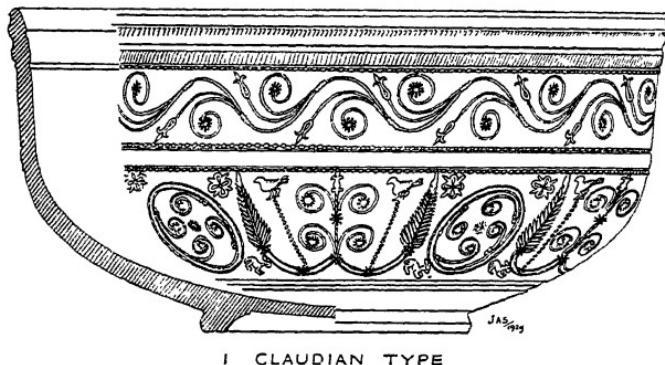
of the first and second centuries. But when this vessel is decorated with the early ovolo-type and the basal arcading of Fig. 44 (A 24421, from Angel Court), it may unhesitatingly be assigned to the Claudian period—possibly earlier.

Form 29.—In the earliest examples of this form the contour is usually hemispherical, and the short, upright rim is furnished with one, or two nearly equal rouletted mouldings. These features are seen in the example (A 21033) from Leadenhall Market (Fig. 45, 1), which may be contrasted with a Flavian example (A 23393) from Moorgate Street (Fig. 45, 2).

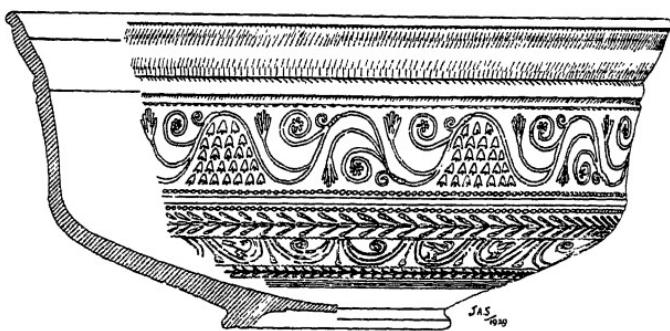
But carination of the wall and eversion of the rim appeared early, for bowls carrying these features form the prevailing type at Claudian Hofheim.

Frequently, in the Tiberian period, the central moulding, which divides the decorated surface of this form into two friezes, is rouletted. Claudian examples of this technique are rare, but they occur at Hofheim and in London.

Form 30.—The early examples of the cylindrical bowl are bold and compressed, the height being about $\frac{1}{2}$ less than the diameter at the rim. The internal fluting usually occurs at a slightly higher level than the external one. These features are well illustrated in the bowl from Gracechurch Street (Fig. 50, 1).



I CLAUDIAN TYPE



2 FLAVIAN TYPE

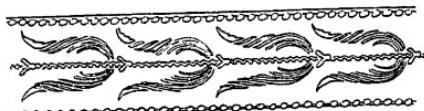
FIG. 45.—Early Claudian and Flavian types of Samian form 29 contrasted : 1, from Leadenhall Market ; 2, from Moorgate Street. $\frac{1}{2}$.
(See pp. 128-130, 132.)

(b) *Glaze and texture.*—The majority of the early pieces preserved in the Museum are composed of a red clay and carry a dark-red-glaze with a smooth, "velvety" surface and considerable lustre. On the other hand, some examples approach more closely to Arretine prototypes, e.g. the form 29 (Fig. 45, 1) with its dull-red glaze. It would, however, be rash to base definite chronological conclusions on glaze alone.

(c) *Decoration.*—Almost invariably the wreaths and scrolls of early Gaulish ware are well modelled and depicted in a bold and open manner, thus materially

differing from those of the Neronian-Flavian period, when the decorative elements tend to become much more closely crowded together (see contrasted examples in Figs. 45 and 46).

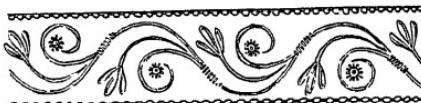
Animal figures are represented early in the industry as on a Tiberio-Claudian crater at Bregenz, a form 29 of the same period by BILICATVS at Wiesbaden, and on London forms 29 by LICINVS and POTITVS (Fig. 47, 1) and on the



I. CLAUDIAN STRAIGHT WREATH



2. FLAVIAN STRAIGHT WREATH



3. CLAUDIAN TENDRIL



4. FLAVIAN TENDRIL

FIG. 46.—Wreaths and scrolls from Samian bowls of form 29, contrasting Claudian with Flavian types. ½. (See pp. 130, 133, 134.)

bowl from Leadenhall Market (Fig. 45, 1). The human figure is rarely depicted on early forms 29, but occurs with relative frequency on Tiberio-Claudian and Claudian forms 30, as at Silchester, Xanten, Colchester, Mainz and Hofheim.

Although the method involves some repetition, it is advisable to consider the chief of these early ornamental themes in relation to each type of decorated bowl separately.

The Crater.—(i) A large, single-leaved scroll, bordered below by metope-like compartments, demarcated by bead-rows. This type of decoration occurs

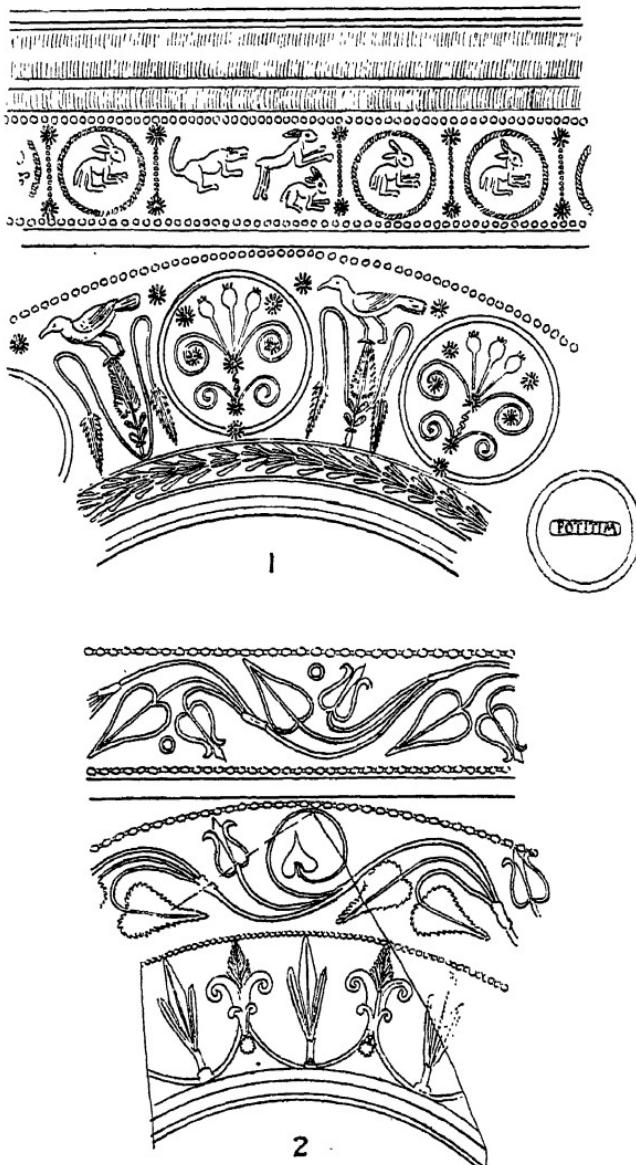


FIG. 47.—Samian pottery of Claudian type, form 29 : 1, from Lombard Street ; 2, from London Bridge. (See pp. 130, 132, 134.)

on the earliest craters as found at Sels and Bregenz in the pre-Claudian period and at Richborough in the Claudian period.

(ii) Upright leaf ornament with basal arcading as occurring at Bregenz and Sels and on the vessel from Angel Court, London (Fig. 44).

(iii) Scroll with large leaves as on a vessel from Cheapside and on a fragment at Hofheim.

(iv) Already, in the Claudian period at Hofheim panel decoration is represented on this form. Usually the ovolو is full and has a slender, plain tongue; it is obviously a direct copy of the Arretine ovolو. This is the prevailing type at Sels and Bregenz, and it is well illustrated on the crater from Angel Court (Fig. 44).

Sometimes the tongue has a circular terminal, as at Hofheim and on the above-mentioned crater from Cheapside.

Form 29. Upper Frieze.—(i) Single-leaf scroll, in which a single stalk arises alternately from the upper and lower curvatures of the parent-stem and terminates in a leaf, as frequently seen on the earliest craters at Bregenz and Sels, in the work of BILICATVS at Kreuznach and of SENICIO at Richborough. Early variants in which the leaf is stalkless or in which the stalk *diverges* from the stem also occur (see *Archaeologia*, LXXVIII, 91, Fig. 46).

As applied to the upper frieze of form 29, this type of scroll does not appear to have been recorded on post-Claudian sites.

(ii) Double-leaf scroll, in which a single stalk terminates in two leaves, as occurring in the work of BALBVS and BILICATVS at Wiesbaden and MACCARVS at Sels. This type is well represented in London, where it has been found in Southwark (Fig. 47, 2), Eastcheap, the old General Post Office, and in the work of BILICATVS (Fig. 48, 1).

As applied to the upper frieze of form 29, this type of scroll is rarely met with on later bowls and is then to be distinguished by its coarser execution and its decorative associations.

(iii) The two-stalk scroll: two stalks arise in close proximity from the parent-stem, one terminating in a rosette and the other in a leaf, bud or spiral spike. This theme is found in the work of the early potters AQVITANVS, ARDACVS, CARVS, DARIBITVS, INGENVVS, LICINVS, NAMVS and SENICIO. It occurs at Sels and is well represented in the Claudian period of Hofheim. In these early examples the decoration is well spaced (see Fig. 45, 1); in the later period the scroll is coarser, the ornamental elements are more closely crowded together and a spiral tendril is frequently added. Moreover, on the decorated bowls of the pre-Flavian period the bifurcations of the stalks or tendrils of the scroll are almost invariably masked by "wreath-bindings" or "tendril unions." The bifid "tendril union" composed of bilateral leaflets with one or more basal beads is highly characteristic of the Tiberio-Claudian period and occurs in the work of the earliest potters and on the oldest sites. A typical example is furnished by the bowl from Gracechurch Street (Fig. 50, 1). On later ware this motif becomes greatly modified, the basal bead or beads being indistinct, blurred or altogether absent. Even in this modified form this type

is seldom met with in the Flavian period. Compare Fig. 48, 1 and 2, with the Flavian fragment, Fig. 46, 4.

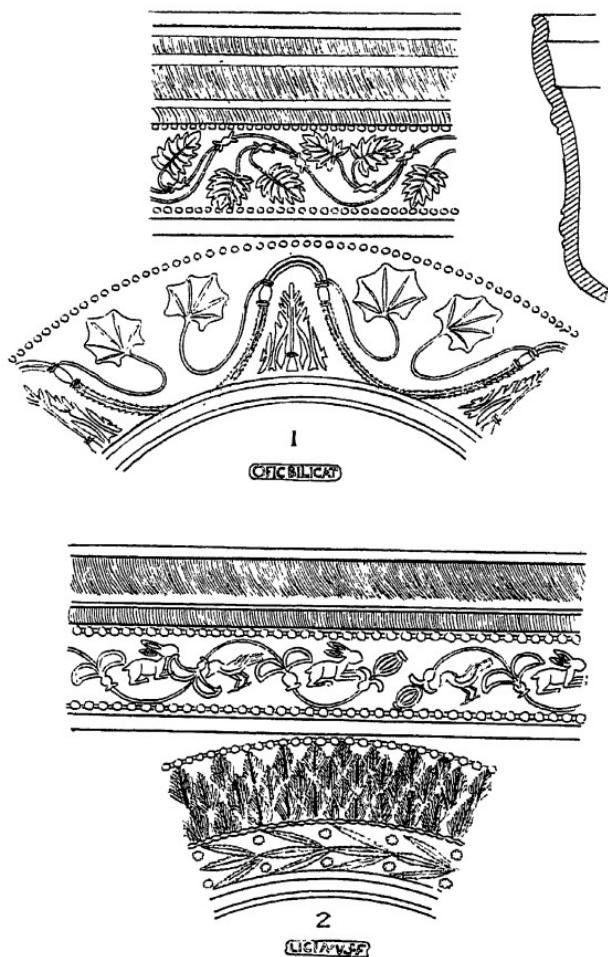


FIG. 48.—Samian pottery of Claudian type, form 29, from London, now in the British Museum. (See pp. 132, 133, 134.)

(iv) Scroll with stalkless bilateral leaves, as occurring in the work of the oldest Gaulish potters, ALBINVS, BILICATVS, CANTVS, LICINVS,

MACCARVS, SCOTIVS and STABILIO, at Bregenz, Mainz, Augst, Sels and Vechten. Good examples of this type have been found in London (Fig. 48, 2). No example of this type as occurring on the upper frieze appears to have been recorded on a site which was first occupied subsequently to the reign of Claudius.

(v) Broad straight wreaths, composed of repeated lyre-shaped leaves, poppy heads, spiral buds and ovate, elongated leaves, as frequently occurring in the work of the early potters ALBINVS, AMANDVS, BILICATVS, DARRA, SCOTIVS and SENICIO at Bregenz, Mainz, Andernach, Nymegen, Sels and Wiesbaden. This type is well represented in London (Fig. 46, 1, and Fig. 49, 1). Although, as applied to the upper frieze, this type is almost exclusively confined to the Tiberio-Claudian period, it occasionally occurs in this situation at a later date. Compare the bold, well-spaced early example, Fig. 46, 1, with the later Nero-Vespasian type, Fig. 46, 2. It is vestigially represented on a form 29 by VITALIS, at Pompeii.

(vi) The repeated *anthemion*, as on the bowl from King William Street (Fig. 49, 2).

This motif occurs in the work of the Arretine potter M. PERENNIVS and has been found in the Claudian period at Hofheim. This type does not appear to have been recorded on sites which were occupied subsequent to the reign of Claudius.

Lower frieze.—(i) Repeated volute ornament, as used by the early potters ALBINVS, AQVITANVS, CANTIVS, LICINVS, OFPRIMI (early work), STABILIO, VOLVS and VRVOED, as occurring at Bregenz, Mainz, Sels, Augst and Vechten.

This type is well represented in London, where it has been found at the old General Post Office, the National Safe Deposit Offices, King William Street (Fig. 49, 4), Bucklersbury and elsewhere. Its relative frequency in London finds a parallel in Claudian Hofheim, where 15 examples were found. This copy of an Arretine prototype naturally occurs most commonly on early Gaulish ware, but it continued to be sporadically produced in the Nero-Vespasian period, as on an early bowl by VITALIS and on an early form 37, now in the Guildhall Museum. A solitary example, probably a "survival," has been found at Rottweil, which was first occupied in A.D. 74. In Britain it does not appear to have been recorded on Flavian sites.

(ii) Repeated gadroon ornament. This type occurs frequently on early ware, but continued to be represented well into the Flavian period. In the earlier examples the gadroon is full and has well-defined borders. This type is extremely common at Claudian Hofheim.

(iii) Basal arcading, *i.e.* upright plant ornament united below by arcs. This direct copy of an Arretine prototype only occurs on the earliest Gaulish ware. It was used by the early potters AMANDVS, INGENVVS, and SENICIO or SENO and has been found at Bregenz, Offstein, Sels, Mainz and Nymwegen. At Hofheim it only occurs on the oldest examples of this bowl, and then rarely. Good examples have been found in London and are preserved in this Museum (Fig. 44, and Fig. 47, 2).

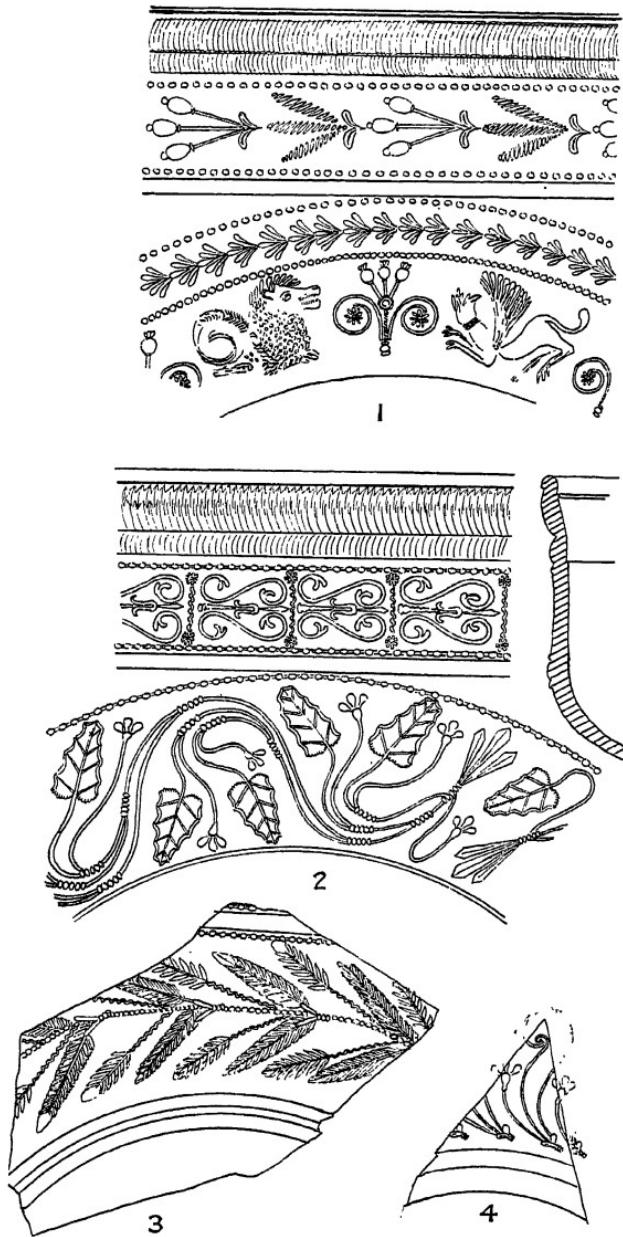


FIG. 49.—Samian pottery of Claudian type, form 29: 1, from Gracechurch Street; 2, from King William Street; 3, from London Bridge; 4, from King William Street. $\frac{1}{2}$. (See pp. 134, 136.)

On early bowls this scheme surrounds the circumference of the vessel. Quite exceptionally, it is found at a late period, when it is interrupted by other associated ornamental details, as on a form 29 by VITALIS, at Pompeii.

(iv) Broad, straight wreaths, occupying the whole surface of the lower frieze, are highly characteristic of the Tiberio-Claudian period. This type occurs in the work of BILICATVS and SCOTIVS and has been found at Nymwegen, Vechten, Bregenz, and Sels. A good example has been found at London Bridge, Railway Approach (Fig. 49, 3). Later and less bold examples occur in the work of the Claudius-Nero potters OF BASSI COEL and OFNIGRI AD.

(v) A large vine-scroll is highly characteristic of Claudian work and occurs on bowls stamped by NAMVS and SENICIO, at Mainz and Vechten. A good example from London is illustrated in *Archæologia*, LXXXVIII, 86, Fig. 40. This particular type of vine-scroll appears to be confined to the work of some of the earliest potters.

Form 30.—(i) Scroll decoration with very large leaves, and buds. The large leaf frequently occupies nearly the whole depth of the wall of the vessel, as on the bowl from Gracechurch Street (Fig. 50, 1).

(ii) Upright plant ornament with basal arcading, as on the crater (Fig. 44), and on the form 29 from London Bridge Station (Fig. 47, 2). See p. 132 for further details regarding this ornament.

These two schematic arrangements are altogether characteristic of many of the earlier or Tiberio-Claudian examples of the cylindrical bowl and have been found at Hofheim (Ritterling, XXVI, 5, XXVII, 22, 23, 25), Cologne, Strasbourg, Wiesbaden and Sels.

(iii) Amongst other schemes, which although equally early, are less characteristic of the Tiberio-Claudian period, for they were continued down into the last third of the first century, the following may be mentioned :

- (a) Continuous or interrupted arcading, the arcades being filled with human figures, animals (often in upright positions), or upright plants. Good examples have been found in London. This type of decoration occurs in the Tiberian period at Sels and in the Claudian period at Hofheim and London (Fig. 50, 2, signed by MASCLVS, from King William Street).
- (b) Two- or three-leaf garlands with or without scrolls, as frequently found in the Claudian period at Hofheim. This decorative scheme is highly characteristic of the work of the pre-Flavian potter MASCLVS.
- (c) Quite early in the life of this bowl, the decorated surface is sometimes divided into panels, as in the Tiberio-Claudian period at Mainz and the Claudian period at Hofheim and London (Fig. 50, 3).

The assignment of bowls bearing one or other of these schemes to an early or late period is based upon a study of glaze, ovolو-types and various details of decoration.

The chronology of the above described decorative schemes may be summed up as follows :

- (a) The single-leaf scroll of the crater and the upper frieze of form 29;
 the double-leaf scroll of the upper frieze of form 29;
 the scroll with sessile leaves of the upper frieze of form 29;
 the broad straight wreath of the upper frieze of form 29;

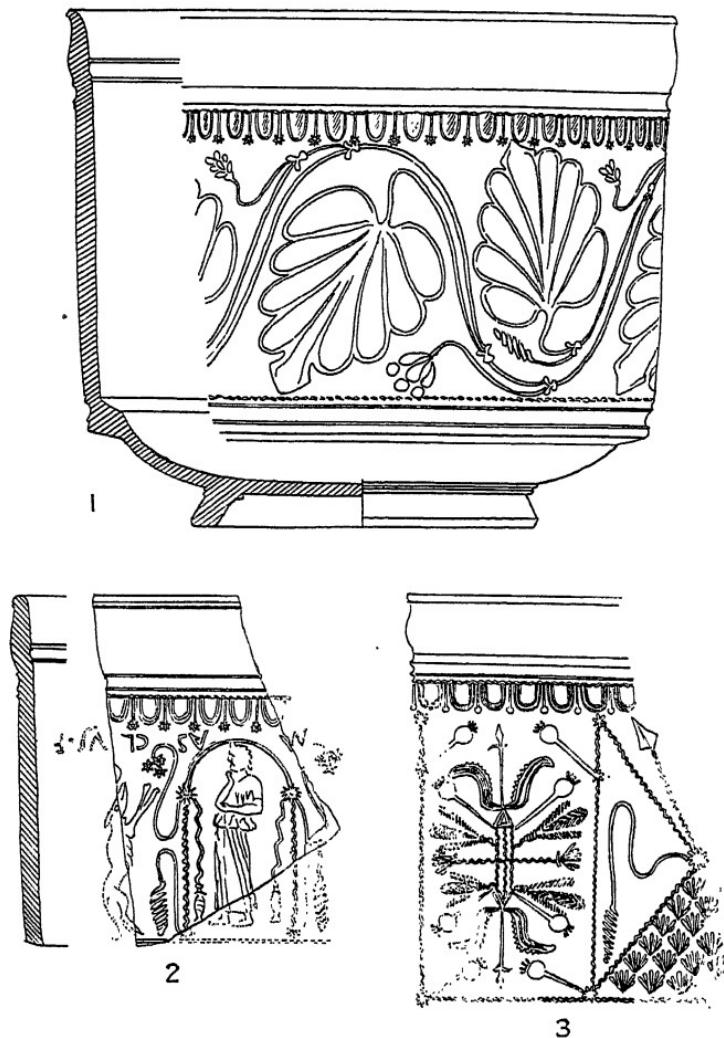


FIG. 50.—Samian pottery of Claudian type, form 30: 1, from Gracechurch Street; 2, from King William Street; 3, from Paternoster Row. $\frac{1}{2}$.
 (See pp. 129, 132, 136.)

the basal arcading of the crater and forms 29 and 30 ;
the volute ornament of the lower frieze of form 29 ;
the broad straight wreath occupying the whole of the lower frieze of
form 29 ;
the repeated anthemion *motif* of the upper and lower friezes of form 29 ;
the large leaf scroll of form 30 ;
and the bifid "tendril-union" with one or more basal beads are all
highly characteristic of one or the other or all of the reigns of Tiberius,
Gaius and Claudius. Rarely, and quite exceptionally, some of these
schemes may be found, in a modified form, as late as the Flavian
period.

- (b) The repeated gadroon, the two-stalk scroll, continuous or interrupted
arcading, garlands associated with scrolls, and the panel scheme of
decoration, although almost equally early and frequently met with
in the Tiberio-Claudian period, continued to be produced down into
the Flavian period.

In this section may be included a few further notes on Samian pottery.

Large red-glazed (Samian) jugs occasionally occur, but are rare. The fragments restored by Mr. Joseph Stanfield in Fig. 51 (29.202) are from Leadenhall Street, where they appear to have been found in the surface of the natural sand or gravel of the site. On this and on stylistic grounds they may be ascribed to the earlier years of the Roman occupation. The figures of Apollo and Victory are similar to those which occur on Italic or Arretine ware, and the "St. Andrew's Cross" pattern is of Claudian type. The form of the jug approximates to that known as "Déchelette 62," and is represented by only four other examples in the red-glazed ware. These come from Hartlip in Kent, from Vindonissa, Augsburg and Rottweil; they range in date from about A.D. 55 to 80, so that the London example is the earliest of the series. Points of similarity between them, however, suggest that they may all have come from the same factory—presumably that of SABINVS, whose name occurs on the Hartlip and possibly the Vindonissa specimens. On the other hand, the fabric of the London example is very fine, and the glaze good, and a date somewhat earlier than the *floruit* of Sabinus is perhaps indicated. The narrow neck has prevented the glaze from reaching the interior surface.

FIG. 52.

This figure illustrates three pairs of plain red-glazed vessels to indicate the main differences between early (1st-century) and late (2nd-century) varieties of the same form. No. 1 is an example of form 18 bearing the stamp of the potter LICINVS, who worked at La Graufesenque in South Gaul about the middle of the 1st century A.D. It shows the shallow, curved sides and comparatively low central "kick" characteristic of this early type. Fig. 2 is an example of the derivate form 31, signed by the potter CAMBVS, who worked in central Gaul about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. It shows the high sides and high central "kick" of its period.

No. 3 is an example of form 27 by the early potter PRIMVS, who worked at La Graufesenque in the third quarter of the 1st century A.D. It has the undercut rim and grooved base-ring of its early period. No. 4 is a typical example of the 2nd century, with blunt rim and no groove on the base-ring.

No. 5 is a cup of form 33, with the slightly convex sides and grooved rim of examples made prior to A.D. 75. No. 6, with its slightly concave sides and absence of grooving is a typical 2nd-century example. It was made by TITVRVS,

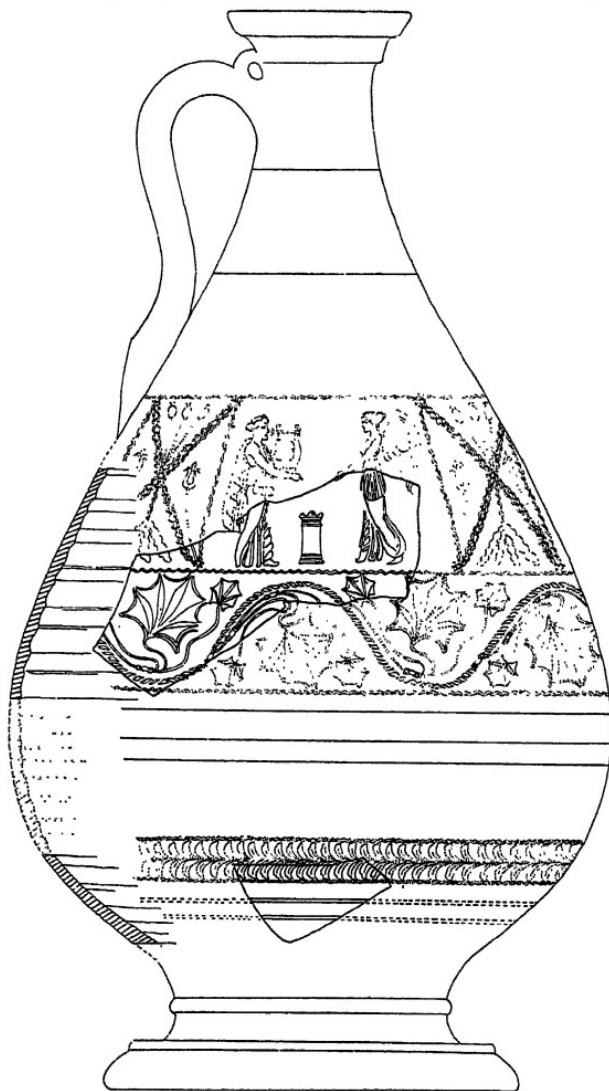


FIG. 51.—Jug of Samian ware from Leadenhall Street. $\frac{1}{2}$. (See p. 138.)

who seems to have worked at Lezoux about the middle of the 2nd century A.D.
Note.—For potters' stamps on red-glazed ware, see Appendix I, p. 160.

(ii) AMPHORAE

Amphorae, or large two-handled jars, were used in great quantities by the Romans for transporting and storing wine and oil, and remains of many hundreds of them have been found in London. After serving their primary purpose,

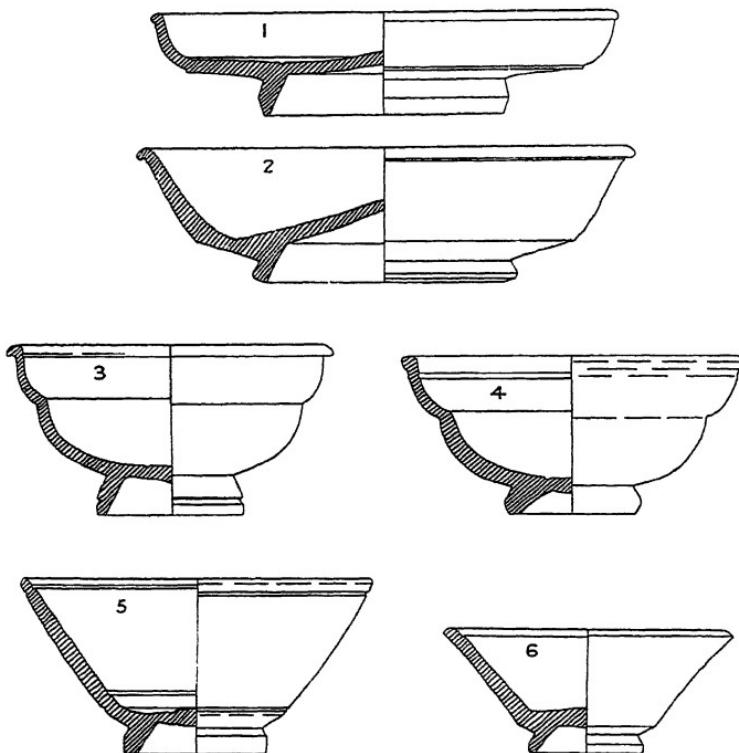
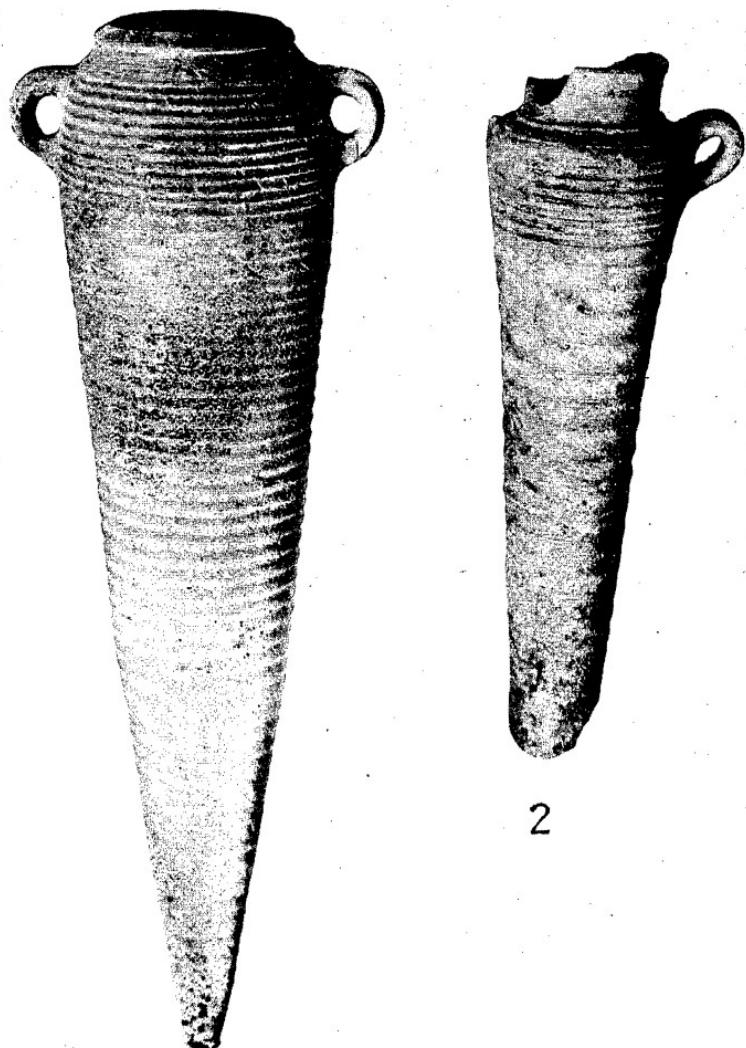
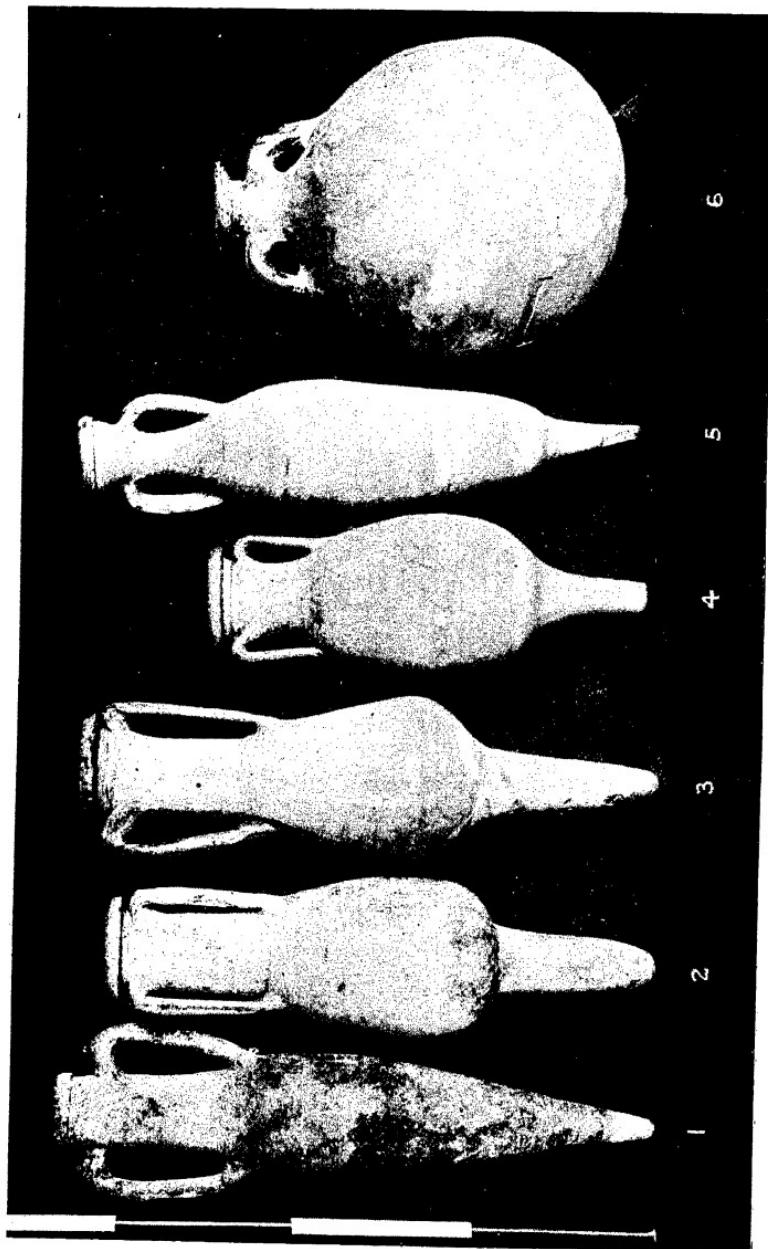


FIG. 52.—Forms of plain Samian pottery from London, contrasting early and later varieties : 1, form 18, 1st century ; 2, form 31, 2nd century ; 3, form 27, 1st century ; 4, form 27, 2nd century ; 5, form 33, prior to c. 80 A.D. ; 6, form 33, 2nd century. $\frac{1}{3}$. (See p. 138.)

they were often adapted to other uses ; for example, they are found set in to clay floors of Roman buildings, doubtless as water-containers, and they were sometimes used as coffins—see above, Pl. XIII B, and p. 41.



"Carrot-shaped" amphorae.
Scale of inches. (See p. 141.)



Amphorae. Scale of feet. (See pp. 141-3.)

In detail, the shapes of amphorae vary considerably. Most of the variants had already been evolved before the Roman invasion of Britain, and those dating from the first century of the occupation show only minor points of divergence from their Augustan prototypes, though with a general tendency towards uniformity.

No exact classification of amphora-types is possible owing to the variety of their form. The rough grouping here adopted is based largely upon the shape of the handles, except in the case of the first group (A).

GROUP A.—*Comparatively small “carrot-shaped” amphorae.*—This type occurs at Pompeii (before A.D. 79), at Hofheim in the Claudian period, and at Wiesbaden. A fragmentary example at Caerleon is not likely to be earlier than A.D. 75, but the type rarely occurs as late as the Flavian period. The London examples may be ascribed to the first 30 years of the Roman occupation.

Pl. LIV, 1 (A 29.9). Buff amphora, found at a low level in Gracechurch Street in association with a Samian bowl, form 29, bearing the stamp of the potter *Murranus*, who flourished in the third quarter of the 1st century A.D.

Pl. LIV, 2 (A 26337). Buff amphora, found in Clement's Lane.

GROUP B.—*Amphorae with “peaked” handles*, i.e. with handles sharply elbowed or pointed upwards at the main bend. This type occurs at Haltern (11 B.C. to A.D. 16), Pompeii, and other early sites on the Continent. In Britain, an example has been found in a deposit of the middle of the first century A.D. at Richborough in Kent. The type for the most part died out in the third quarter of that century, but two handles found at Caerleon in Monmouthshire indicate that it survived occasionally as late as A.D. 75, the probable date of the foundation of the legionary fortress there, and a partial survival of the feature on an amphora noted below (A 26441) perhaps shows that it occurs now and then in a “vestigial” form in the last quarter of the century.

Three London examples are represented in the Museum.

Pl. LV, 1 (A 14700). Buff amphora, upper part of neck restored. Found “with” No. 5 (A 14699) in Old Broad Street.

Pl. LVI, 1 (A 21054). Handle of buff amphora found in Threadneedle Street.

Pl. LVI, 2 (29. 203). Upper part of buff amphora found on the west side of Gracechurch Street, south of Lombard Street. The "telescope" neck of this amphora occurs on examples from Pompeii, from the Claudian camp at Hofheim and from Pfünz on the German Limes, founded perhaps about A.D. 100. Both the Hofheim and the Pfünz examples lack the "peak" which is still traceable on the handles of the London example.

A handle (A 26441—not illustrated) of rounded profile from Threadneedle Street, with a slight vestige of the "peak," bears indistinctly the stamp QCI, which is probably intended for QCR. The latter occurs at Richborough and elsewhere in deposits dating from about A.D. 80–120.

GROUP C.—*Amphorae with straight acute-angled handles.*—These handles differ from those of the preceding group by the absence of the upturned point or "peak." The slightly peaked handles of the Gracechurch Street example, noted above (Pl. LVI, 2), form a transition between the two groups. The characteristic form of Group B, however, is that represented by Pl. LV, 2, 3 and 4. These are derived from a type found both at Haltern in the Augustan period and at Hofheim in the Claudian period, and differ from these only in having a down-turned, instead of an upturned, rim. The London type lasted to the beginning of the second century, since a typical example has been found at Caerleon in a Trajanic deposit.

Pl. LV, 2 (A 23584). Buff amphora found in King William Street.

Pl. LV, 3 (A 24075). Grey-buff amphora, found in Tabard Yard, Southwark.

Pl. LV, 4 (A 1227). Buff amphora found in Lombard Street. Given by W. M. Newton, Esq.

Another fragmentary example (A 1229), not illustrated, was found on the site of Crosby Hall, Bishoptsgate.

GROUP D.—*Amphorae with cylindrical neck and straight right-angled handles.*—This type is derived from prototypes at Haltern and Hofheim, but differs from them in that the handles bend at a right angle and not at an acute angle. The plain right-angled handle without "peak" does not appear to be common before the second half of the first century A.D., and, on the other hand, does not occur on Antonine sites (after A.D. 140). Examples at Caerleon occurred in deposits dating between A.D. 80 and 130.

Pl. LVI, 4 (A 28195). Neck of buff amphora found in Lime Street.

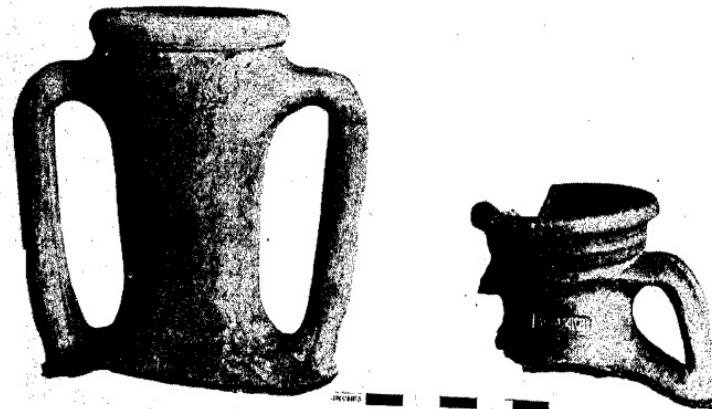
The similar neck of a buff amphora (A 11247) found at St. Saviour's, Southwark, shows on its lower edge the beginning of a sharply carinated shoulder.



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2

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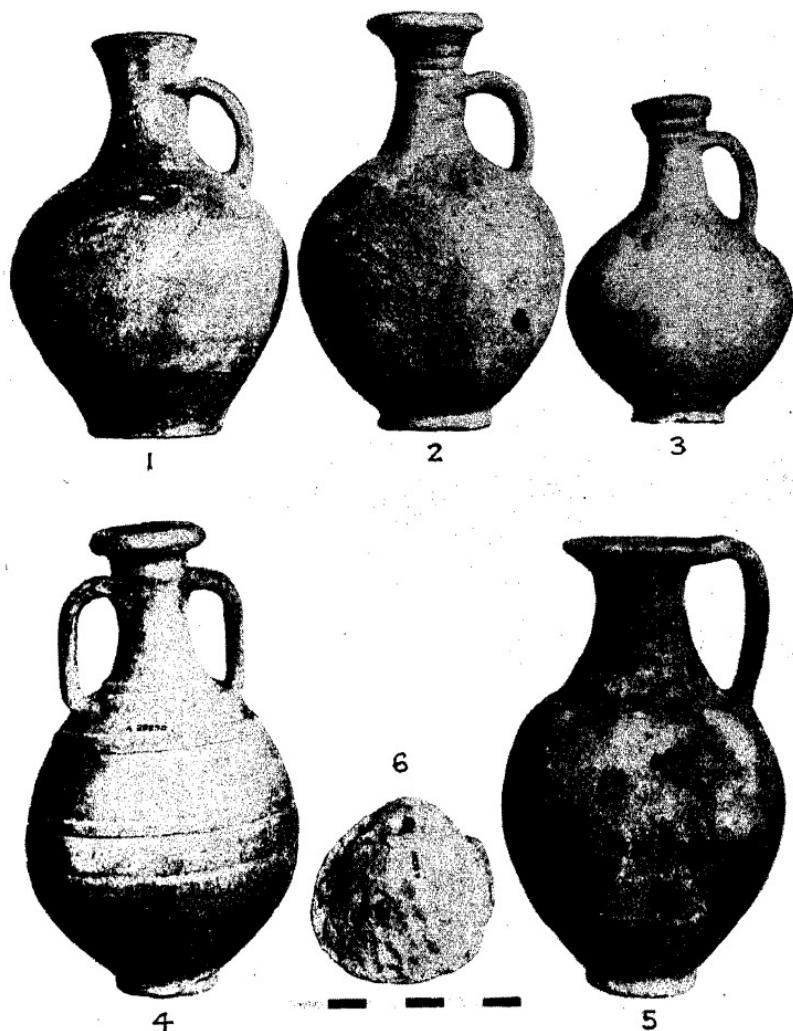


4

5

Amphorae. Scale of inches. (See pp. 141-3.)

PLATE LVII.



Group of jugs and a lead weight, found together in Bishopsgate Street.

Scale of inches. (See p. 148.)

GROUP E.—*Slim amphorae with rounded handles.*—This group is for the most part early, and is well represented at Pompeii. It does not seem to occur after the beginning of the Antonine period (after A.D. 140).

Pl. LV, 5 (A 14699). Buff amphora found "with" No. 1 (A 14700) This is akin to an Augustan type at Haltern and to examples at Pompeii. It dates probably from the first half-century of the Roman occupation.

Another example (A 27140), found in Southwark, is too much restored for illustration, but probably belongs to this group.

GROUP F.—*Globular amphorae with rounded handles.*—This also begins as early as the first century B.C., and undergoes little or no change. It seems to have survived all the other types, and to have become the normal type early in the second century A.D.

Pl. LV, 6 (30.7). Pinkish buff amphora found in Montague Street, Whitechapel, in 1887.

Part of a similar amphora (A 28068), found in Poultry, bears on the handle the stamp IVL·TEREN, i.e. "made by Julius Terens."

Pl. XIIIb (C 1042). Large buff amphora (one handle missing) found in Mansell Street. A large hole had been knocked into one side of the vessel, which is said to have been used as a receptacle for the dead.

Pl. LVI, 5 (A 23548). Part of amphora of micaceous buff ware, found in Ironmonger Lane, Cheapside, bearing on the neck the stamp ADBVCIVSF, i.e. *Adbucius fecit*, "made by Adbucius." Potters' stamps are more usually placed upon the handles of amphorae. The excellence of the present stamp, combined with the character of the ware, suggests a date not later than the beginning of the 2nd century.

Another fragmentary example from the same group (A 13855) bears on the rim the incised graffito MVII; it was found on the site of the Guildhall Council Chamber.

[BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Loeschcke, *Keramische funde in Haltern*, 250 ff.; E. Ritterling, *Das frührömische Lager bei Hofheim*, 301 ff.; O. Hölder, *Formen der römischen Thongefäße*; R. E. M. Wheeler, *Archaeologia*, LXXVIII.]

(iii) OTHER POTTERY FROM LONDON

FIG. 53.

Plate of smooth, hard-baked, orange-red ware (A 14999), found in London Wall. This is a Belgic imitation of an Italic form, but the footstand in the copy is no longer functional as in the prototype. The interior surface of the base bears the stamp DIVERI, i.e. "made by Diverus," a potter whose name is found on Belgic ware at Haltern (prior to A.D. 16), Tongres, Langres, Cologne, and at Foxton in Cambridgeshire, where it occurs on a plate somewhat similar to the present example, along with an Italic crater by ATEIVS. The plate

is not likely to be later than the earliest years of the Roman occupation (about A.D. 45).

FIG. 54.

1. (A 28197). Grey urn from King William Street. The base is missing, but the pear-shaped form suggests a pedestal-base of Belgic type. It dates probably from the middle of the 1st century A.D.

2. (A 24799). Grey pedestal base, possibly a Romanized version of a Belgic prototype, but perhaps, on the other hand, part of a vessel of purely classical type (compare T. May, *The Pottery found at Silchester*, Pl. LXXI, 163). Found in Moorgate Street. Middle or second half of the 1st century A.D.

3. (A 27836). Another grey pedestal base, of similar character and date to preceding. From the Walbrook near the Mansion House.

4. (A 7716). Grey vessel with hollow neck and sharply defined shoulder. From Liverpool Street. This type is of prehistoric origin in the neighbourhood of the lower Rhine valley, and occurs occasionally in southern Britain at about the time of the Roman conquest.

5. (A 5167). White vessel of hard, fine ware. From the site of Crosby Hall. This type is of purely classical origin; it is derived from a metal proto-

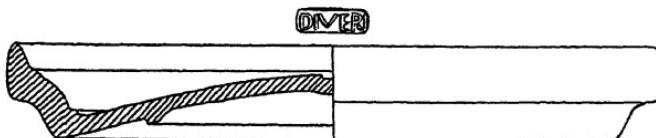


FIG. 53.—Plate of Belgic ware stamped DIVERI, from London Wall. $\frac{1}{2}$.
(See p. 143.)

type, which is sometimes reproduced also in glass. It dates probably from the 1st century A.D., but that it occasionally lasted until about 125 A.D. is shown by the recent discovery of a fragmentary example in a Hadrianic deposit at Birdoswald, on Hadrian's Wall.

6. (A 24773). Jug of green-glazed ware. From the Thames at London. Made probably at S. Rémy-en-Rollat, in central France, about the middle of the 1st century A.D.

7. (A 23384). Black-glazed cup, with decoration *en barbotine*. From London (*ex* Amherst Collection). Two similar cups are preserved in the Plique Collection at the Museum of S. Germain-en-Laye, and suggest that the centre of manufacture was Lezoux in central Gaul. One or two examples have been dredged up from the Pudding Pan Rock in the Thames estuary near Whitstable, where a cargo of Gaulish pottery seems to have been sunk about 160 A.D. Similar cups, doubtless from the same factory, have been found at Old Ford in Essex, in York, Bath, Hoo St. Werburgh in Kent, and at Wroxeter, where it occurred with pottery thought not to be earlier than A.D. 200. Yet another example, now in the National Museum of Wales, has no history, but, from its appearance, may have come from the Pan Rock.

8. (A 11527). Samian dish with decoration *en barbotine* on the rim; the

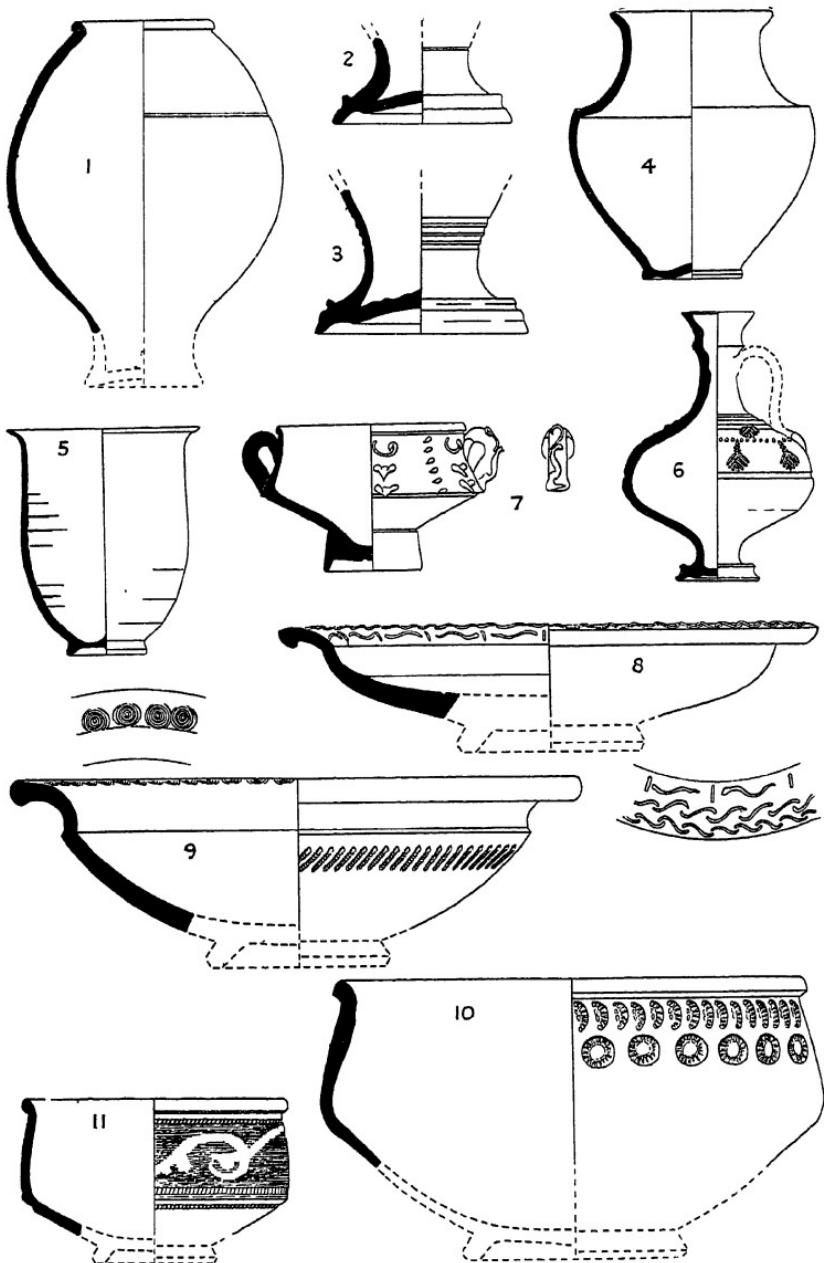


FIG. 54.—Miscellaneous examples of pottery from London, 1st-4th centuries A.D.
†. (See p. 144.)

prototype of the following example, No. 9. From Tabard Street, Southwark. Probably late 3rd century A.D.

9. (A 25501). Dish of smooth orange-coloured ware with stamped concentric circles on the rim and oblique rouletted bands on the shoulder. From Bishopsgate Street. This is a late (probably 4th-century) copy of the preceding Samian type.

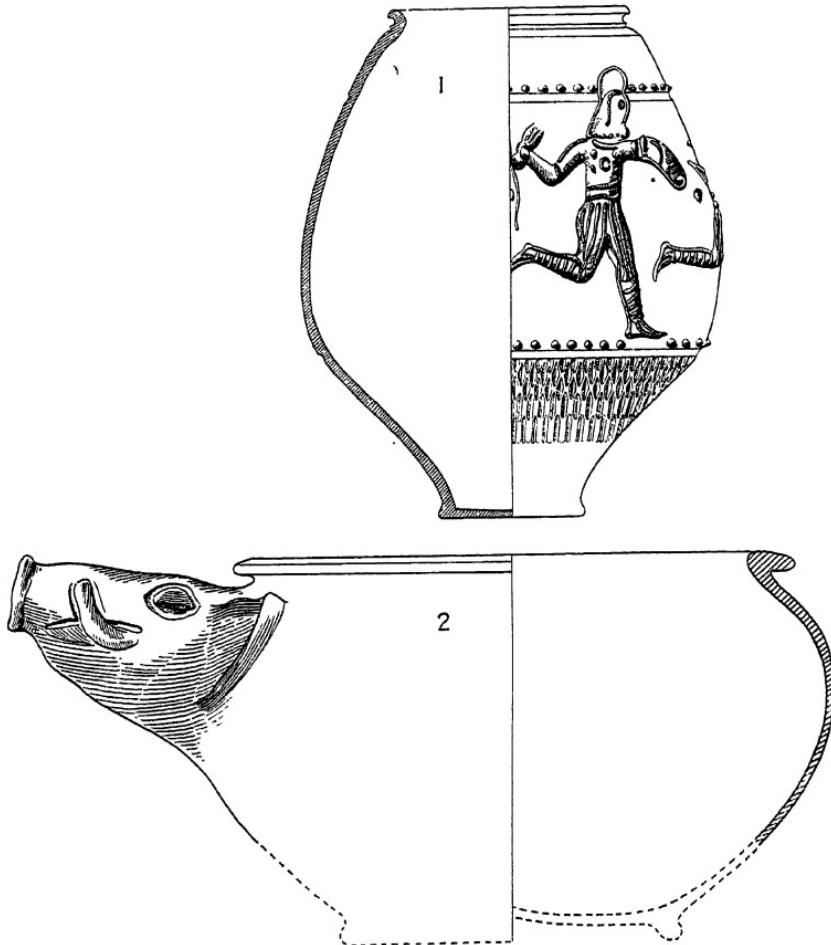


FIG. 55.—1, pot of "Caistor" ware from Lothbury; 2, strainer with boar's-head spout from St. Martin's-le-Grand. $\frac{1}{3}$. (See p. 148.)

10. (A 25501). Bowl red-coated in imitation of Samian; stamped rosette decoration. From Bishopsgate Street. This type of pottery was made both in southern Britain and in northern France in the 4th century A.D.

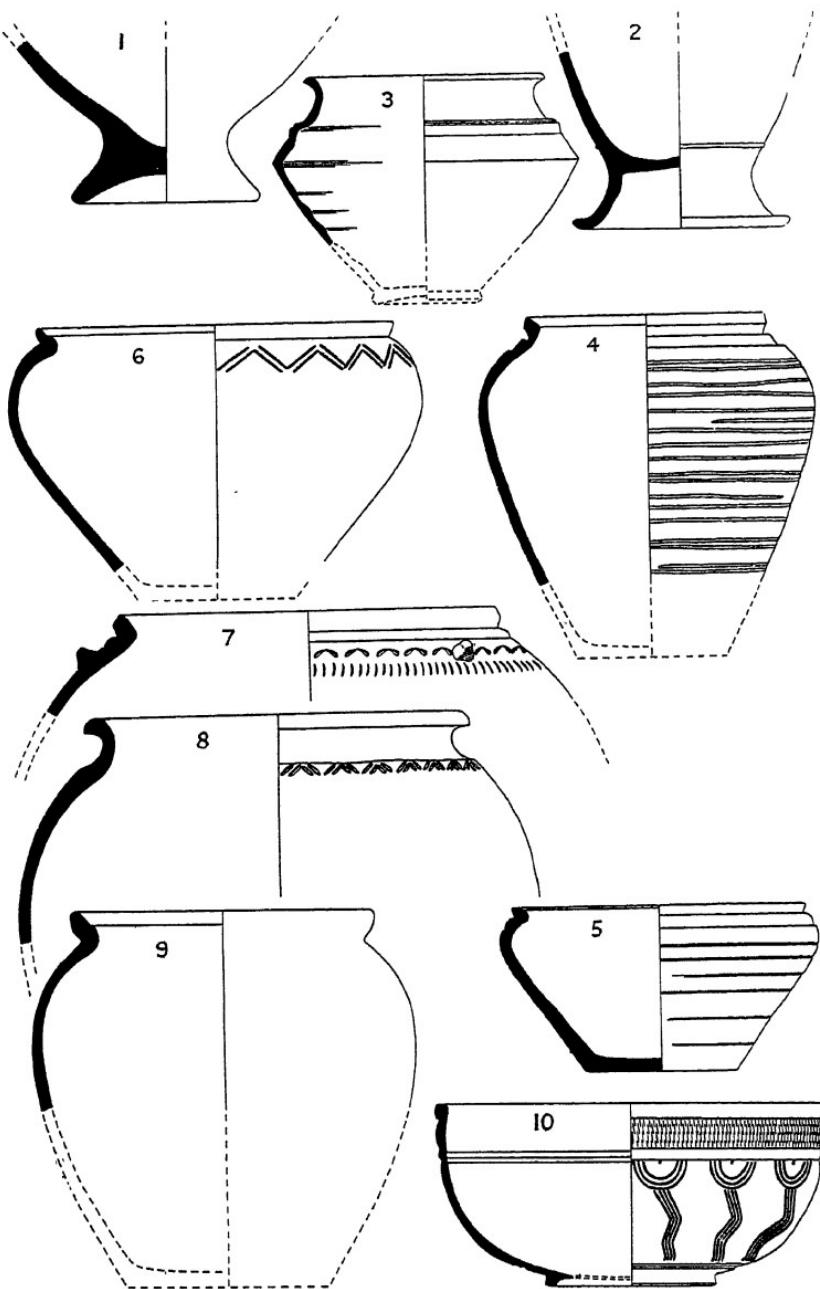


FIG. 56.—Pottery from Romano-British huts at Tilbury. 1. (See p. 148.)

11. (A 19233). Red-coated bowl with bands of rouletting, and scroll decoration in white paint. From London Wall. 4th century A.D.

Pl. LVII

A group of five jugs and a leaden weight (A 25300), found together with a bronze key (Pl. XXXB, 5) in "a wood-lined hole, 2½ ft. square and 1½ ft. deep, beneath a tub-well" in Bishopsgate Street at a depth of 28 ft. The box and its contents may have formed a part of a cremation-burial prior to the digging of the well or, as is more likely from the depth, had fallen accidentally into the well. The group dates from the last quarter of the 1st century A.D. The jug, No. 6, is a copy of a metal prototype belonging to our Class B (above, p. 114).

Pl. LVIII

Two Roman flower-vases with triple containers and, in one case, with a fourth opening for purposes of filling.

1. (A 22895). Orange-brown ware. From King William Street.

2. (29.89). Buff ware. From Christ's Hospital.

FIG. 55.

1. (29.94). Fragments of a dark grey vessel decorated with rouletting and with gladiatorial scenes *en barbotine*. From Lothbury. Vessels of this kind were made both in the Rhine valley and in Britain, notably at Caistor in Northamptonshire. A well-known complete example with similar decoration is preserved in the Colchester Museum. Probably late 2nd century, A.D.

2. (A 28538). Part of a spouted bowl of grey ware, from St. Martin's-le-Grand. The spout, in the form of a boar's head, is a good if somewhat rough example of the potter's craft; across the base of it internally is a strainer. Vessels of this type commonly, though not exclusively, date from the first half of the 2nd century A.D.

(iv) POTTERY FROM THE TILBURY HUT-CIRCLES

The Romano-British hut-settlement on the foreshore of the Thames at Tilbury has been referred to above. Fig. 56 illustrates typical examples of the pottery found in and about the huts. These examples will serve to represent not merely this site but also many others along the Thames and Medway marshes, at Upchurch, Rainham, etc. Similar pottery is occasionally found in the lower Roman strata of London itself, as in 1929 during rebuilding in Old 'Change.

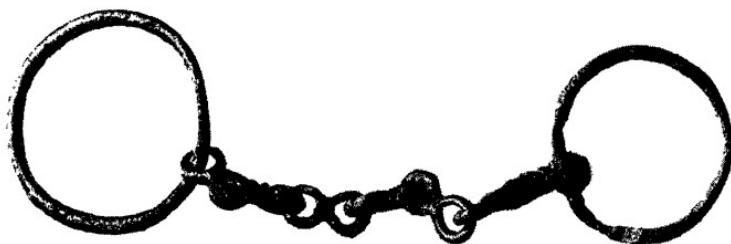
This pottery is, in part at least, Belgic in character. Nos. 1 and 2 are fragments of grey pedestal-urns, and may be of pre-Roman date, although it is certain that pedestal-urns were still in use in Britain long after the Roman invasion. No. 3 is a finely made vessel with black graphite surface and sharp carination. It is a Belgic type which is occasionally found on early Roman sites in south-eastern Britain. Nos. 4 to 7 (grey ware) are more difficult to place. Their sharply recurved rims are probably derived from the bead-rims of the later prehistoric period, and the pronounced shoulder of the type occurs on

To face p. 148.]

PLATE LVIII.



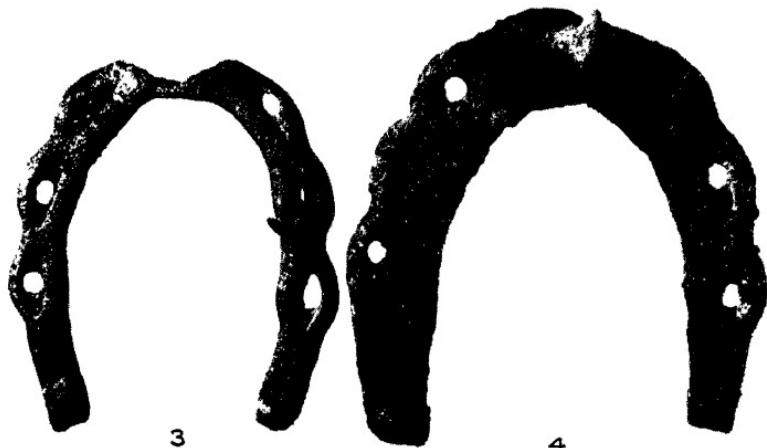
Flower-vases: 1, from King William Street; 2, from Christ's Hospital.
Scale of inches. (See p. 148.)



1



2



3

4

Iron bits and horse-shoes. $\frac{2}{5}$. (See p. 149.)

sites occupied about 1-50 A.D. in south-eastern Brittany from Wiltshire (Casterley Camp, etc.) to Essex, and in Belgic Gaul. The decoration of Nos. 6 to 8 is by means of incised lines, and No. 7 is further decorated by applied knobs round the shoulders. Somewhat similar modes of decoration were in vogue at Mont Beuvray in the 1st century B.C., but the immediate prototypes of the Tilbury examples are yet to seek. No. 10 provides a direct link with Roman ceramic types; it represents a native adaptation of the Samian form 37, the ovolo of the latter being enlarged to concentric semicircles. It dates from the latter part of the 1st century A.D.

21. HORSE GEAR

Pl. LIX, 1 (A 14725). Iron chain-bit, found in the Thames at London.

Pl. LIX, 2 (A 13803). Iron pelham-bit, protected in the horse's mouth by small iron rings. Found in Barge Yard.

Pl. LIX, 3 (A 1291). Iron mule-shoe, with wavy outline and six nail-holes, one with a T-headed nail still in it. Found in London Wall.

Pl. LIX, 4 (A 2023). Iron horse-shoe, with wavy outline and seven nail-holes, two with T-headed nails still in them. Found in Angel Court.

Horse-shoes (*solea ferrea*) of this type, with wavy outline and more commonly with six than with seven nail-holes, appear to be the earliest type of nailed shoe. They are found both in Gaul and in Britain on sites occupied between about 50 B.C. and 50 A.D.; for example, they are common in the Iron-Age villages of the Salisbury Plain area. They seem, however, to have been completely superseded by the more modern type with plain outline by the end of the first century A.D. The three horse-shoes found near the Roman ship and probably of Roman date (p. 154) are of this later type. (For Roman horse-shoes, see L. Jacobi, *Das Römerkastell Saalburg*, 522 ff.)

Fig. 57 (A 27649). Iron "hippo-sandal," found in Moorgate Street. Several other "hippo-sandals" from London are preserved in the Museum.

These objects have given rise to much discussion. It has been suggested that they were made for shoeing the ends of trailing shafts such as have been used until modern times in the Highlands and Ireland for transport over rough ground. It has also been conjectured that they may have been used as lampstands. In spite of all apparent difficulties, however, it seems certain that they were a sort of horse-shoe, since examples are recorded to have been found in actual contact

with hooves at the Saalburg, and somewhat similar objects are said to have been made for this purpose recently in America. Moreover, an example from London in the British Museum has been strengthened by the addition of an ordinary horse-shoe to its sole. How the Roman examples were secured is difficult to see; perhaps their insecurity accounts for the great number found on many sites from Italy to Britain. It has been conjectured that

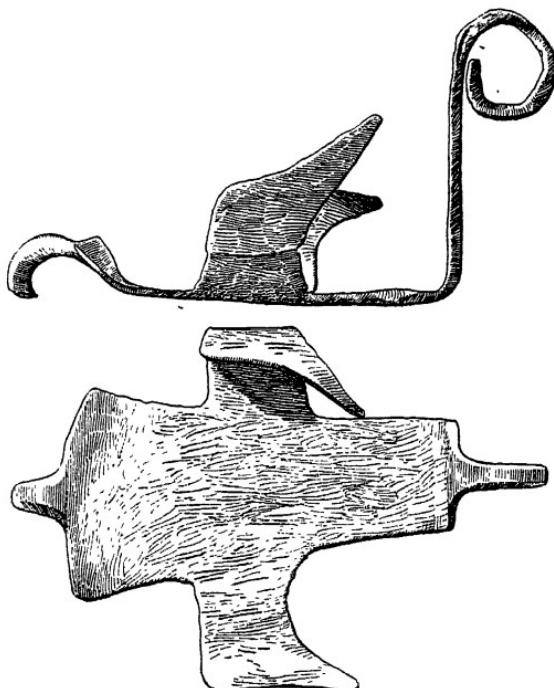


FIG. 57.—Hippo-sandal from Moorgate Street. $\frac{1}{3}$. (See p. 149.)

these large and easily detachables shoes were used only for diseased hooves, but their abundance is against this supposition. On the other hand, it is not possible to suppose, with Jacobi, that they represent the earliest type of horse-shoe, preceding the nailed shoe of the kind noted above. There is apparently no evidence for the use of the hippo-sandal before the Roman period, whereas the nailed horse-shoes with wavy outline were certainly in use in the latter part of

the prehistoric Iron Age, both in Gaul and in Britain (see above). (See L. Jacobi, *Das Römerkastell Saalburg*, 529; Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, I, 77.) Several varieties of hippo-sandal are known, and attempts have been made to classify them typologically (H. Corot, "Essai de classification typologique et de statistique des hipposandales," in *Pro Nervia, Organe du Syndicat d'Initiative de la région de Bavay*, IV, Part I, pp. 4-19, Avesnes 1928; and

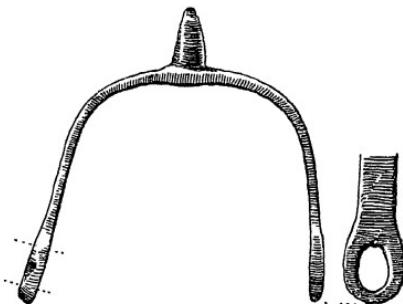


FIG. 58.—Spur from King Street, Cheapside. $\frac{1}{2}$. (See p. 151.)

X. Aubert in *Revue des Musées*, 1929, Nos. 19-21). But in the absence of an established chronological basis these classifications are at present of doubtful value. In accordance with them, the example above illustrated belongs to the most primitive group.

Fig. 58 (29.181). Prick-spur of iron coated with bronze. From King Street, Cheapside. Spurs (*calcaria*) which can definitely be ascribed to the Roman period are not common. The present example is of the simplest type, but it is probable that the rowel-spur, which did not generally supersede the prick-spur until the 14th century, was already known to the Romans. See L. Jacobi, *Das Römerkastell Saalburg*, 534.

22. ROMAN SHIP

(Pls. LX and LXI)

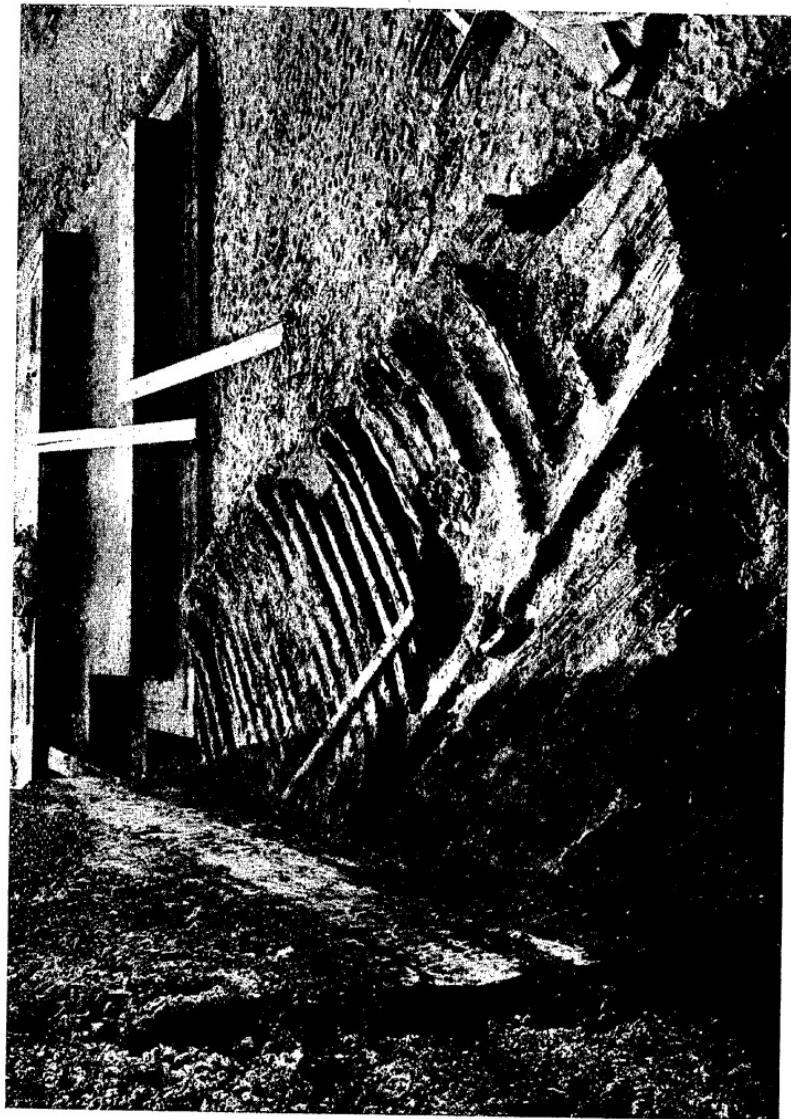
Part of the middle portion of a ship was found in 1910 on the site of the County Hall, on the shore of the Thames near the eastern end of Westminster Bridge, and is now

preserved in the Museum. The exact find-spot was 350 ft. north of Westminster Bridge Approach and 300 ft. east of the present Embankment retaining-wall. The ship lay north-east and south-west, with its presumed bow-end inshore. The depth was 19½ ft. below High Water and 21½ ft. below the level of the nearest modern road (Belvedere Road).

The remains rested on a stratum of sand and gravel, and, from the deposit of shelly sand which had drifted under the curved portions of the fabric, it was inferred that the ship had "grounded or sunk on a bank enclosing a quiet pool of water." Above the remains were, first, a deposit of river-mud 7 ft. in depth, and over that 14 ft. of made ground which had supported a factory. It was noted that at other points near the boat the mud-deposit amounted to 14 ft. and the made ground to 7 ft. From these measurements, there appears to have been a sinking in the accumulation over the site of the boat, and a more leisurely and detailed examination of the strata might have shown that the boat lay on the bed of a former inlet.

The ship is of oak and carvel-built. The fragment measures approximately 38 ft. in length and 18 ft. in width; the original dimensions of the craft are uncertain, but were estimated at about 60 ft. in length and 16 ft. in breadth. The keel, so far as preserved, is straight, measures 8½ ins. in width and is chamfered on both lower edges. Along the centre of the keel are numerous 5-in. wooden pins or trenails, possible to secure a former protective "false keel" below the true keel. The strakes or longitudinal planks are 3 ins. in thickness near the keel and thin to 2 ins. at the sides; they are fixed to one another and to the keel by draw-tongued joints. Very little metal is used in the construction, but a few joints are strengthened by large-headed iron nails. The ribs, each 5½ ins. wide, are at intervals varying from 10 ins. to 1 ft. 9 ins. centre to centre, and carry side-keels (or longitudinal sleeper-beams), which are morticed on the upper face, probably to hold standards to support the cross-bearers.

Evidence of ancient damage and repair was observed. Three of the ribs had had their centre portions renewed. Several of the boards showed signs of fracture, and above



Roman ship as found, near Westminster Bridge. (See p. 152.)

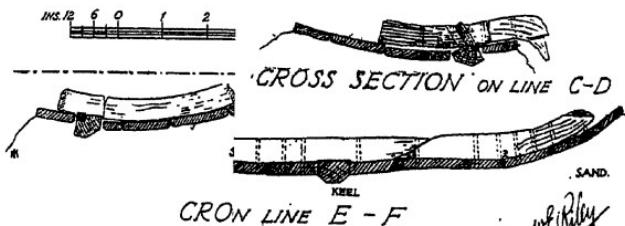
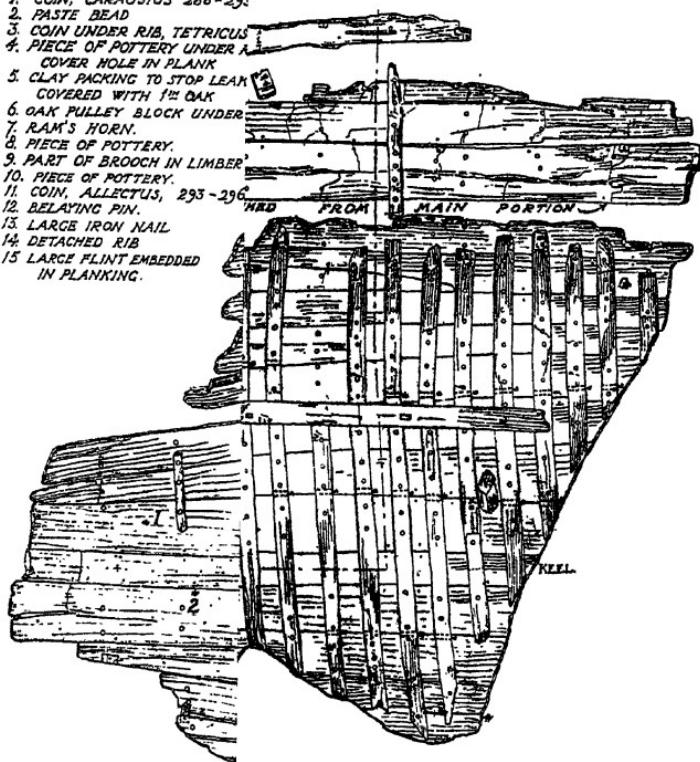
had been subjected to attack and this would account for much of the damage found."

In addition to these, other objects were discovered "near" the boat, including an Early Iron Age dagger and spear-head, five horse-shoes, two sherds of Roman pottery, and two first-century Roman coins, of Agrippa and Domitian respectively. It is obvious that these cannot all have been associated with the ship, and their presence makes it difficult to say how far the occurrence of the other objects on the site may also have been accidental. However, the Roman potsherd (not otherwise described) found in the clay plug in the bottom of the vessel, and the coins of Tetricus and Carausius "discovered beneath a rib," seem to prove that the ship was Roman and not earlier than about A.D. 290. That it may have been "one of Allectus's vessels that endeavoured to escape in the fight of London, but was overtaken and destroyed" by the fleet of Constantius in 296 (see above, p. 26), is a conjecture entirely unsupported by evidence. (For a more detailed description of the ship, see W. E. Riley and L. Gomme, *Ship of the Roman Period discovered on the Site of the New County Hall*, L.C.C. publication, 1912.)

To face p. 154.

PLATE LXI.

- REFERENCE to FIG.
1. COIN, CARAUSIUS 286-293
2. PASTE BEAD
3. COIN UNDER RIB, TETRICUS
4. PIECE OF POTTERY UNDER A COVER HOLE IN PLANK
5. CLAY PACKING TO STOP LEAK COVERED WITH 1½" OAK
6. OAK PULLEY BLOCK UNDER
7. RAM'S HORN.
8. PIECE OF POTTERY.
9. PART OF BROOCH IN LIMBER
10. PIECE OF POTTERY.
11. COIN, ALLECTUS, 293-296
12. BELAYING PIN.
13. LARGE IRON NAIL
14. DETACHED RIB
15. LARGE FLINT EMBEDDED IN PLANKING.



PLAN SHOWING IF THE COUNTY HALL, LONDON.

P2970, P1298851, 3000, 2/30.

Malby & Sons, Photo-Litho

EPILOGUE

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ROMAN LONDON

In the preceding pages something has been said about the origin and growth of Roman London in so far as the story can be reconstructed from scanty references in classical literature and from equally scanty archaeological evidence. Something, too, has been said in detail about this evidence, as represented in the London Museum. In conclusion a few words may be added upon the normal life of the Roman city and upon the nature and significance of the phase of civilization for which it stood.

The reasons for the growth of a great living organism like the Roman Empire are manifold. No categorical list of them can be complete or more than superficially significant. We may say (with Julius Cæsar) that Rome sought to conquer Britain for military and political reasons ; because her Gallic provinces were never safe so long as a harbour for her enemies lay at their gates. Or we may say that she was thrust into new wars of acquisition by the princes of commerce and the "international financiers" who are commonly credited with a personal interest in imperial expansion, and, in the present instance, may be thought to have had an eye upon the pearls for which Britain was noted or the "gold, silver and other metals" which Tacitus describes as "the reward of victory." Or, again, we may be content to remark that Britain was but another step in the Great Adventure. All these sayings are doubtless true. But they represent the physiology of the Roman Empire rather than its breath of life. That ultimate factor, however much it may elude us, must be borne in mind throughout our inquiries, or our "history" becomes at its best a merely academic discussion of the relative values of

geology and of journeymen, or, at its worst, a merely pedantic catalogue of coins and potsherds.

Let us glance for a moment at the living picture of Roman London which the catalogue has outlined for us. The river is lined with cargo-ships, in size and shape not unlike the Thames barges of to-day, though with rather more freeboard and rarely with more than a single mast. In their holds are the great two-handled jars, filled with oil or wine, that may almost be said to have stood, commercially, as a symbol of Mediterranean civilization *in partibus*. Here and there is a cargo of Gaulish pottery, such as that which, sometime in the second century, was overwhelmed in the Thames estuary off Whitstable, where Samian dishes are still dragged up from time to time in the nets of fishermen. Occasionally, a ship comes from Gaul or Italy bearing works of art, wrought in bronze or marble, such as the colossal statue of Hadrian now in the British Museum, or the marble river-god catalogued above. More rarely a galley, with oars and sail, sweeps up-river from the Channel Fleet, or brings some Roman official to the island. And at the wharves the merchant-ships are loading for the return voyage with cargoes of corn, of skins, or of gangs of chained hillmen impressed as slaves or soldiers for the Continent.

Of serving soldiers there are few to be seen; London is not a military fortress, though it has its trainband and its semi-military police (above, p. 32). Recruits may occasionally arrive from abroad; but there is no system of relief for our frontier garrisons in the north and west, and the regiments are normally recruited from the children born in the cantonments, *in castris*. Only in emergencies, such as those which brought Constantius in the third century or Theodosius in the fourth, was any considerable body of troops seen by the Roman Londoner.

Of the general appearance of the city itself, something has been said above. It was a civilized city, a comfortable one, with an efficient drainage system and an adequate water-supply. There were probably more buildings of stone and brick than at any subsequent period until after the Great Fire of 1666. There were more adequate and attractive

facilities for bathing than ever until the latter part of Queen Victoria's reign. The Roman city-surveyor, standing in the midst of his simple street-system, would have laughed at our curiously deformed inheritance from the Middle Ages. And our unwholesome custom of burying our dead in little, crowded city-churchyards, and even beneath the floors of our temples, would have revolted the Roman citizen's sense of decency.

The buildings of the city were, it is true, of an optimistic southern character, designed with ample porticoes to give shelter from an Italian sun. But those same porticoes must equally have sheltered the Roman Londoner from his northern rains and so were readily naturalized. Externally as well as internally these buildings, constructed mostly (in the absence of local stone) of brick and rubble, were doubtless cemented and brightly coloured in Roman fashion. Here and there a temple or an assembly-hall would offer a more imposing frontage, but the absence of Banks (hence the discovery of hoards of money hidden away in odd corners—see below, p. 189) deprived the Roman architect of opportunities that are not denied his modern successor. The general impression of the architecture of Londinium must have been one of comparatively low buildings with prevalent horizontal lines, rather than the narrow buildings and vertical lines of medieval and modern London.

The art of the Roman city, whether plastic or pictorial, was clearly of that erratic kind which is inevitable where a foreign tradition is planted suddenly in an unprepared soil. The pre-Roman artist of southern Britain had lived in a slum amongst awkwardly garbed, unkempt and weather-beaten associates. Accordingly, it scarcely occurred to him to seek beauty in the human form, and, instead, he proceeded to draw vigorously curved patterns upon clay and wood and metal and to produce a strong but nervous and often delicate decoration which, of its kind, has never been surpassed. But now, in the Roman city, his wattle hut was, for the most part, swept away; he was either a slave with no leisure for art, or he was the new master of a fine square house, with an elaborate bathroom, an Italian floor, and a stuccoed wall adorned by a man who knew his Vergil and could paint

Olympus. On all hands were shops stocked with mass-produced pottery from the kilns of Gaul and glass from the furnaces of the Rhineland. Whether slave or master, he was tumbled headlong into a world of mass-production. In spite of that hardness and brutality which are so often the bye-product of efficiency, life was now easy and efficient. The organized industries of the civilized world were thrust suddenly between the native Briton and the poor pots and pans on which he had lavished his art. And, with leisure and cleanliness, the human form divine had stepped between him and the simple patterns that had sufficed him for his art.

The same thing, on one scale or another, has happened more than once. Efficient American machinery, German toys and furniture, French drama—before such as these we have all in our generation heard of the passing of our homely arts and crafts. We all prefer an efficient plumber to an efficient sculptor; and Tacitus well knew this when he included baths amongst those subtly attractive innovations which lured the untutored Briton from his native discomforts but were in reality one of the bonds of a new servitude to civilization and to Rome.

Perhaps the word “efficiency” brings us most nearly to the ideal for which Roman London stood. It was the efficiency of Roman Britain that carried it, surprisingly intact, through the age of destruction which followed (and, in part, preceded) the year 410. The kindly but obstinate German farmers who sailed up our rivers in the fifth century and filled our countryside with pleasant place-names; the Vikings, perhaps less kindly but no less determined, who followed their example four centuries later—were all mastered by the efficiency of the Roman Britain which they pillaged or even sought to ignore. These Teutons and Scandinavians were makers of parishes and of country lanes. They made Rustic England and the fame of our earlier water-colour painters. But when at last they were spurred (for good or ill) into a sense of political responsibility, they were roused suddenly to the fact that Roman Britain was not dead but merely dormant; and the great Roman Watling street, which had, almost with a prophetic cynicism, ignored their petty town-

ships, now awoke to a Saxon name and to Saxon traffic from the Roman walls of a Saxonized Deva to the Roman walls of a Saxonized Londinium. "Their metropolis," wrote the Venerable Bede, speaking of the East Saxons, "is the city of London, which is the mart of many nations resorting to it by sea and land"; and he might have been echoing the words of Tacitus who, six centuries earlier, had written that Londinium was already "crowded with traders and a hive of commerce." Twenty miles of London shipping and an enlarged Watling Street still bear witness to the unerring imagination of the Roman founders of modern Britain.

APPENDIX I

POTTERS' STAMPS ON SAMIAN WARE*

The potters' stamps may be divided into four main classes, according to the formula used. In the first class, the potter's name (in the genitive case) is followed by M(ANU); e.g. No. 3, AESTIVI M: "(Made) by the hand of *Æstivus*": such a form appears to imply a potter taking an active part in the production of the wares bearing his stamp. This class is particularly favoured by the potters of Central Gaul. The second class includes those stamps in which the maker's name is in the nominative case, and followed by F(ECIT), e.g. No. 7 (c), ALBINUS F: "Albinus made (this)"; in this case, too, there is the implication of personal work by the master-potter. The potters of East Gaul and Germany almost always stamp in this way. The South Gaulish potters made use of both of the preceding forms, but made far greater use of the third class, which comprises those stamps in which the potter's name (in the genitive case) is preceded, or more rarely followed, by OF(FICINA), e.g. No. 5 (a), OF ALBANI: "(Made) by the firm of Albanus, *Albanus & Co.*" To what extent this formula indicated a more complex firm, it is difficult to say; the difference may often have been one of little more than title; but certainly the larger *officina* must have employed large numbers of men, and the master-potter would no doubt be concerned more with the administration of the firm than with the actual production side of the business. Thus, the firm of MOMMO (No. 156) produced vessels by the thousand, as a graffito found at La Graufesenque bears witness; and companies such as those of PASSENUIS (No. 175) or VITALIS (No. 249) exported large quantities of their wares very widely during the Flavian period, the most flourishing era of the South Gaulish potteries.

Occasionally, the form of the stamp may indicate a change in the potter's business; thus, most of the work of CELADUS (No. 50) is stamped CELADI MAN; but his very latest wares bear the mark OF CELADI; in this case, towards the end of his career, a potter who had previously worked on a small scale appears to have expanded his business sufficiently to warrant his calling it a company. Stamps of the fourth class give the maker's name alone (usually in the genitive case); such stamps may imply a firm or an individual potter.

In a number of cases, besides the name of the master-potter, another name (generally abbreviated) appears on the stamp; in such cases, it must be assumed that the second name represents a foreman, responsible for a particular depart-

* This appendix has been contributed by Mr. E. B. Birley.

ment of the firm. Of a number of examples in the present list, No. 168 may be instanced, in which *And(ecavus?)* is the foreman of Niger.

There is often considerable variation in the stamps of one potter or firm, as may be seen in the case of Passenus in particular. Usually such variation appears to have been haphazard; but in the case of some potters, it would appear that different forms of stamps were reserved for different branches of the firm. Thus, in the case of SEVERUS (No. 220), the stamp OF SEVERI or OF SEVER seems to have been confined to form 27: OF SEVER + to form 18: whilst the larger variety of form 18 is sometimes stamped ♂ SEVERI, sometimes ♂ SEVERPUD; Pud(ens) presumably being foreman in charge of the manufacture of the "large 18" plate. The stamps of COSIUS RUFINUS (No. 65) appear to show a similar differentiation; whilst Passenus's stamp (e) is confined to form 29. But this whole question requires fuller discussion than can be accorded to it here.

The potters themselves are not unworthy of attention. As one might expect, their names indicate the Gaulish origin of many of them; Gaulish names might be romanized—PATERCLOS (No. 177) appears also as PATERCLUS; whilst there was an ever-increasing tendency for the children of Gauls to receive Roman names; so that it is reasonable to suppose that the bulk of the potters in this list were Gauls. In some instances they were Roman citizens also, as their names indicate. A Roman citizen normally had three names: a *prænomen* or personal name (such as Gaius, usually abbreviated in writing to C.), a *nomen* or family name (such as Iulius): and a *cognomen*, the name by which he would ordinarily be known (such as Cæsar); his full style being, to use the examples given, C. Iulius Cæsar. Only Roman citizens were allowed the privilege of *prænomen* and *nomen*. A man who received the citizenship would normally assume the *prænomen* and *nomen* of the person who had secured the citizenship for him—under the Empire, often the Emperor or the governor of his province; he would normally retain his previous name as a *cognomen*. In Gaul, very extensive grants of the citizenship had been made by C. Iulius Cæsar, the Dictator; so common, indeed, were the Iulii in Gaul, that their *nomina* were of little use for the purpose of distinction, and their *cognomina* alone were ordinarily used.

IUSTUS (No. 117) and SABINUS (No. 207) appear to be instances of potters who were Roman citizens, who made use merely of the initial letter of the *nomen* Iulius. Less common *nomina*, however, were sufficiently distinctive to be used normally; and the occurrence of such names may occasionally be of some historic value. Thus, PASSENUSS or PASSIENUS (with the same variation of spelling) was the *nomen* of one of the consuls of 4 B.C.; the occurrence of a Gaulish master-potter of that name may imply that the consul Passenus was at one time governing in Gaul, and there secured the citizenship for an ancestor of the potter.

LOLLIUS (No. 128) came, perhaps, from a family that had received the citizenship through the M. Lollius who was in command of the armies on the Rhine in 16 B.C.; whilst APRONIUS (No. 17), the COSII (Nos. 65-67), and LUCCEIUS (No. 130) may have owed their status to a similar cause. But this, too, is a subject that can only be indicated here.

Hitherto, potters' stamps have been studied chiefly as an aid to the dating of the occupation of the sites where they occur ; and careful correlation of the results of excavation on a number of closely dated sites has made the potter's stamp one of the most important items of chronological evidence that can be obtained. But these stamps are also of the greatest value for the light that they throw on one branch, at least, of economic life during the first two centuries of the present era ; but for the fortunate presence of the potters' names on the Italian and Gaulish pottery, it would not be possible to trace, and to reconstruct in such considerable detail, the history and ramifications of an industry that is passed over in almost complete silence by contemporary writers.

It has been observed before now, that the decline of the Roman Empire is reflected in the progressive degradation of its artistic products ; thus the best period of South Gaulish pottery production is as inferior to that of Italy as it is superior to the Central and East Gaulish wares that superseded it. This is not the place to discuss the question of Rome's decline : and artistic considerations must not be allowed to obscure more important issues. The real significance of the change lies, not in the departure from Greek artistic traditions, but in the spread of local and individual activity ; not in the badness of the pottery made at Rheinzabern, but in the very fact of decorated pottery having been made there at all. The first wave of romanization had tended to drown local industries, such as there were, and to foster the expansion of large exporting centres ; but eventually the Roman element gave fresh stimulus to the widening of local activity. Just as, at the present time, Britain's Dominions and Colonies are tending more and more to produce their own manufactured articles, whilst the English exporting firms find their markets abroad progressively restricted, so in the Roman Empire each province tended eventually to produce locally whatever articles it needed, and to rely less on imports from other parts of the Empire. The history of Roman pottery-production bears witness, not so much to artistic decline, as to the diffusion of civilization.

Over half of the potters, and more than three-quarters of the stamps represented in the following list, are of first-century date. Allowance must be made, of course, for the extent to which the upper Roman levels in London have been largely cleared away by subsequent building operations, just as at the present time the lowest levels too are being removed ; but it is nevertheless permissible to infer that the quantity of this class of pottery imported during the first sixty years of Roman London was at least as great as during the subsequent century and a half ; after which date, of course, the destruction of the Gaulish potteries made further importation impossible.

Amongst the early potters whose activity was chiefly confined to the Tiberio-Claudian period the stamps of AMANDVS, COCVS, FIRMO, INGENVVS, LICINIANA or LICINVVS, MACCARVS, POTITVS, SCOTIVS and SENICIO are represented in this Museum. But no adequate estimate of the Gaulish ware which found its way to London prior to Boudicca's rebellion in A.D. 61 can be arrived at without some consideration of the work of the other pre-Flavian potters, preserved in this Museum, viz., ABITVS, AQVITANVS, ARDACVS, BASSVS, BIO, CELEROS, OFCRESTIO (early work), LABIO, MASCLVS, MODESTVS and MVRRANVS. All these potters began work prior to the reign of Claudius, for their wares have been found at Sels, prior to

A.D. 41. They are all represented in the Claudian period at Hofheim, prior to A.D. 52. Thus, although their activity was prolonged into the reign of Nero, the provenance and incidence of their stamps render it certain that much of their ware was exported to London prior to the Boudiccan rebellion. Finally, attention is drawn to the fact that bowls of form 29, by DAMONVS, GALICANVS, LICINIANA and MVRRANVS, have decoration which displays many early elements.

LIST OF SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE LIST OF POTTERS' STAMPS

Brackets [] enclose letters missing from a stamp through wear, damage, or faulty impression.

Brackets < > enclose letters intentionally omitted from a stamp.

A dot underneath a letter (as A) indicates that the letter is incomplete, or that the reading of it is uncertain.

The sign ^ over two or more letters implies that in the stamp those letters are in ligature ; thus, MA represents an original AA

A line | at the end of a stamp indicates that the stamp is broken off, and no attempt is made to indicate what letters are missing.

r. = *retrograde*, implying that a stamp reads from right to left, the letters being reversed.

No general attempt has been made to reproduce peculiarities of calligraphy ; but the various forms of the letter A (A, A, etc.) are noted as they occur ; whilst reversed letters and (more notably) incidental dots are included. These dots usually separate distinct words or names ; but they are also used for merely decorative effect (as by COIUS, No. 60, or by CINTUSSA, No. 55). It should be noted that for F, frequent use was made of the sign ! ; E was often written II ; N occasionally appears as N ; and L not uncommonly as a lambda, whilst U was almost always written as V. G is sometimes written as C. These peculiarities are mostly reproduced in the list.

R = *Ritterling type* (Hofheim Report).

W = *Walters form* (British Museum Catalogue).

K.W.S. = King William St.

G.P.O. = General Post Office, St. Martin's-le-Grand.

Numbers such as 24/25, 18, etc., refer to Dragendorff's forms.

The names of streets or other sites after each potter's stamp each represents one stamp found there ; more than one stamp from the same site is indicated by a figure in brackets after the name of the site, as K.W.S. (3).

fr. = *fragmentary*, implying that the stamp in question is incomplete, but can be referred to the complete stamp-type to which it is attached.

The following table summarizes the results obtained by a study of the provenance of the potters in the list.

The number of stamps recorded is rather more than seven hundred.

TABLE SHOWING THE PROVENANCE OF THE POTTERS LISTED BELOW

[An attempt has been made to indicate the date and place of as many as possible of the potters in this list; in some cases the evidence is as yet very slight, but many of the potters can be dated very closely.]

The method of dating selected is by the reigning emperors: e.g. no. 1, Claudian: or houses, e.g. no. 3, Antonine: or by centuries, e.g. no. 4, second century. "Flavian or earlier" indicates that there is evidence for a potter having worked before the Flavian period, as well as in that period.]

Italy		I
Belgic Gaul		I
South Gaul:		
La Graufesenque	88	
Montans	11	
La Grf. and Montans	2	
Banassac	6	
Unassigned	21	
	—	
	128	. . . . .
South or Central Gaul		128
Central Gaul:		
Lezoux	52	
Unassigned	12	
	—	
	64	. . . . .
South and East Gaul		64
Central and East Gaul		1
Central or East Gaul		2
East Gaul (including Germany):		4
Heiligenberg	7	
Rheinzabern	12	
Other potteries	3	
Unassigned	15	
	—	
	37	. . . . .
Unassigned		37
	—	
Total		250

1. ABITUS of La Graufesenque Claudian.
 (a) OFABITI on 24/25, Southwark.
 (b) ABII < on R 8, Southwark.
2. ADVOCISUS of Lezoux Trajanic-Antonine.
 (a) ADVOCISIO on 18/31, Tokenhouse Yard.
 on 38, Fenchurch St. (fr.).
3. AESTIVUS of Lezoux Antonine.
 (a) AESTIVIM on 33, G.P.O.

4. ALAUCUS of Central or East Gaul (?) . . . Second century.
 (a) Λ L Λ VCIM on 33, London Wall.
5. ALBANUS of La Graufesenque . . . Flavian or earlier.
 (a) OF $\widehat{\text{ALBANI}}$ on 27, G.P.O.: K.W.S.: Paternoster Row: Southwark (2).
 (b) OF $\widehat{\text{ALBAN}}$ on 27, G.P.O.
 (c) OF. $\widehat{\text{ALBAN}}$ on 27, Gracechurch St.
 (d) ALBAN| on 18, Southwark.
 (e) ·ALBAN| on 18, Nicholas Lane.
 (f) ALBANM r. on 18, Southwark.

This potter is probably to be identified with C.

Valerius Albanus of La Graufesenque.

6. ALBINUS of La Graufesenque . . . Nero-Vespasian.
 (a) OF $\widehat{\text{ALBIN}}$ on 24/25, London.

This is perhaps a variant spelling of Albanus, above.

7. ALBINUS of Lezoux Second century.
 (a) ALBINI·MA on 31, Angel Court.
 (b) Λ LBINIM r. on 31, London.
 (c) Λ LBINVSI on 33, Old Broad St.

8. ALBUCIANUS of Lezoux Antonine.
 (a) ALBVCI| on 37, G.P.O.

9. ALBUCIUS of Lezoux Hadrianic-Antonine.
 (a) ALBVCIM on 31, K.W.S.

10. ALBUS of La Graufesenque Claudius-Nero.
 (a) ALBVS·FE on 27, Wood St.
 (b) OFALBI on 18, Nicholas Lanc.

11. AMABILIS of Arezzo Claudian or earlier.
 (a) Λ M $\widehat{\text{AB}}$ on R 5, Leadenhall Market.

12. AMANDUS of La Graufesenque Claudian.
 (a) OF[F] $\widehat{\text{IAMAND}}$ on 27, Gracechurch St.
 (b) OFAMANDI on 27, London.
 (c) OI $\widehat{\text{IAMAND}}$ on R 8, K.W.S.
 (d) OFAMAN on 27, K.W.S.: Clement's Lane.
 (e) OFAMA on 27, St. Helen's Place.
 (f) OI'MN on 27, K.W.S.

(g) $\widehat{\Lambda}$ MAND	on 27, K.W.S.
(h) $\widehat{\Lambda}$ MAND	on 27, K.W.S.
13. AMANDUS of Rheinzabern?	. . . Antonine (?).
(a) Λ MANDO	on 33, Moorgate St.
(b) [Λ]MANDIF r.	on 31, Leadenhall St.
14. ANIMA (?) of South or Central Gaul	. . First century.
(a) -ANIM|	on 18, K.W.S.
	No stamp similar to this has been recorded.
15. ANNIUS of Central Gaul	. . . Trajan-Hadrian.
(a) ΛNNIVSF	on 31, G.P.O.
(b) ΛNNIM	on 33, Fenchurch St.
16. APRILIS of La Graufesenque	. . . First century.
(a) APRILISF	on 18, K.W.S.
17. APRONIUS of Montans (?)	. . . Flavian
(a) OFAPR°	on 27 K.W.S.
18. AQUITANUS of La Graufesenque	. . Neronian or earlier.
(a) OFAQVITĀNI	on 15/17, K.W.S.
(b) OFAQVITĀN	on 27, Old Broad St.
(c) OFAQVITĀN	on 29, Bishopsgate St.
(d) OFAQVI	on 18, Clement's Lane.
	on 24/25, K.W.S.
19. ARDACUS of La Graufesenque	. . . Pre-Flavian.
(a) OFARDACI	on 24/25 K.W.S.
(b) OF.ARD|	on 18, K.W.S.
(c) FEARDAC	on 18, London Wall.
(d) —ARD	on 27, K.W.S.
(e) ARDACIVĀ	on 18, Southwark.
20. ATTIANUS of Lezoux	. . . Hadrianic-Antonine.
(a) ATT[IA]NIM r.	on 31, London Wall
(b) ATTIANI r.	on 37, G.P.O.
21. ATTILUS of Montans	. . . First century.
(a) OFATTILI	on 27, G.P.O.
22. ATTIUS of La Graufesenque	. . . Flavian or earlier.
(a) ATTI \widehat{OF}	on 24/25, K.W.S.
(b) ATTIVS·FE|	on 18, K.W.S.
(c) ATTIVSFC	on 33, K.W.S.

23. AVITUS of Ittenweiler (?) Trajan-Hadrian (?).
 (a) AVITVSF·V on 27, K.W.S.
24. BACCINUS of South or Central Gaul . . . Flavian or earlier.
 (a) BACCINI on 27, Bishopsgate St.
25. BASSIUS CA . . . of La Graufesenque . . . Flavian or earlier.
 (a) BASSIVS·CA on 18, K.W.S.
 CA is presumably an abbreviation of the *cognomen* of Bassius; the range of possible names is too wide for an attempt at expanding the abbreviation to be worth while here.
26. BASSUS of La Graufesenque Chiefly pre-Flavian.
 (a) OFBASSI on 18, Southwark.
 on 27, Gracechurch St.
 on 33, Gracechurch St.
 (b) OFBASI on 18, Threadneedle St.
 (c) BA2SIO on 18, K.W.S.
 on 27, K.W.S.: Paternoster Row.
 (d) BASSIM on 27, K.W.S.: Bishopsgate St.
 (e) BASSI on 24/25, Lombard St.
27. BASSUS and C(OELUS) of La Graufesenque . . Flavian or earlier.
 (a) OFBASSIC on 24/25, Lombard St.: Nicholas Lane.
 C(oelus) was one of the foreman working under Bassus. Cf. the note on potters' firms above.
28. BATERCLOS (= PATERCLOS, q.v.) of Lezoux Domitian-Trajan.
 (a) BATERCLOSFE on 18/31, Nicholas Lane.
29. BELINICUS of Lezoux Hadrianic-Antonine.
 (a) BELINICIM r. on 33, Threadneedle St.
 (b) BELINICIM r. on 33, London.
30. BIGA of East Gaul Trajan-Hadrian.
 (a) BIGA·FEC on 18, G.P.O.
 on 27, K.W.S.: Threadneedle St.: Southwark.
 on 33, Southwark.
31. BIO of La Graufesenque Pre-Flavian.
 (a) BIOECIT on 27, K.W.S.: Lime St.
 (b) BIOFE on 27, K.W.S.
 (c) BIOFECI on 27, Old Broad St.
 (d) BIOFECIT on 29, K.W.S.
32. BIRAGILLUS of Banassac Domitian-Trajan.
 (a) BIRACILLI on 27, Paternoster Row.
33. BRICCUS of Lezoux Second century.
 (a) BRICCVSF on 27, St. Helen's Place.

34. BUCCUS of East Gaul Domitian-Trajan.
 (a) BVCCVSR on 31, G.P.O.
 (b) [B]VCCIM on 33, K.W.S.
 35. BUTRIO of Lezoux Trajanic.
 (a) [BVT]RIO on 37, Lime St.
 36. BUTTURRUS of Lezoux Domitian-Hadrian (?).
 (a) BVTTVRRI on 33, G.P.O.
 37. CABUSSA (= CARUSSA) of Lezoux Antonine.
 (a) CΛBVSSA on 38, Leadenhall St.
 38. CACASIUΣ of Central Gaul Trajanic (?).
 (a) CACASIM on 33, London Wall.
 39. CACO of Montans First century.
 (a) O·CACO· on R 10, Poultry.
 40. CADDIRO
 (a) CADDIRON on 27, G.P.O.
 Nothing is known of the provenance or date of this potter.
 41. CALVUS of La Graufesenque Nero-Domitian.
 (a) OFCALVI on 15/17, K.W.S.
 (b) OFCALV on 18, Fenchurch St.
 (c) OF·CALVI on 18, K.W.S.
 (d) OFCALVI on 27, Angel Court.
 (e) [OFC]ALVI on 18, Southwark.
 (f) [OFC]ALVI on 27, G.P.O.: K.W.S.
 (g) [OFC]ALVI on 15/17, K.W.S.
 42. CAMBUS of Central Gaul Antonine.
 (a) CAMBVSF on 31, Fenchurch St.
 43. CANTIUS of La Graufesenque Probably pre-Flavian.
 (a) CANTIII on 18/31, K.W.S.
 44. CARANTIUS of Lezoux Trajanic.
 (a) [CARA]NTI·M on 31, K.W.S.
 45. CARILLIUS of La Graufesenque Flavian.
 (a) CARILLI·E on 18, K.W.S.
 (b) CARILLI on 29, Gracechurch St.
 46. CARUGATUS or CANRUGATUS of Lezoux Flavian.
 (a) [CAR]VGATVS on 33, G.P.O.
 (b) CĀNRVCATI on 29, Fenchurch St.: Leadenhall St.
 47. CASSIUS of Heiligenberg Hadrianic-Antonine.
 (a) CASSIVSFE on 31, Lombard St.
 48. CASTUS of La Graufesenque Claudio-Nero.
 (a) CASTVS·FE on 18, Moorgate St.
 (b) OFCASTI on 29, Southwark.
 49. CATULLINUS of East Gaul (?) Trajan-Hadrian.
 (a) CATVΛLINVS on 18/31, Lombard St.: K.W.S.

50. CELADUS of La Graufesenque Chiefly pre-Flavian.
 (a) CELADIMAN on 29, Gracechurch St.: Nicholas Lane.
 (b) OFCELAD[I] on 18, K.W.S.
51. CELEROS of South Gaul Probably pre-Flavian.
 (a) = CELERO²= on 18, K.W.S.
52. CEN(SOR) of La Graufesenque Flavian.
 (a) OFCEN on 18, Leadenhall St.
 (b) OFC·EN on 18, K.W.S.
 (c) OFCIIN on 18, Finsbury Circus.
 (d) OFCEN on R 10, Lime St.
- (The F in (d) approximates to cursive script.)
53. CHRESIMUS of Montans Flavian.
 (a) CHRESIMI on 27, Wood St.
54. CINNAMUS of Lezoux Antonine.
 (a) CINNAMI r. on 37, Poultry: Southwark.
 (b) CINNAM r. on 30, London.
55. CINTUSSA of Lezoux Trajan-Hadrian.
 (a) C·IN·T·VSSA on 18/31, K.W.S.
 (b) C·IN·T·VSS·A on 33, Cornhill.
56. CIRRUS of East Gaul (?) Hadrianic-Antonine(?).
 (a) CIRRVSF on 31, London Wall.
57. CLEMENS of Westerndorf Antonine.
 (a) CLEMENTI on 38, Fresh Wharf.
58. COBNERTUS of Rheinzabern Antonine.
 (a) [COB]NERT[I] r. on 37, Southwark.
59. COCUS of La Graufesenque Claudio-Nero.
 (a) COCIOF on R 9, Lombard St.
60. COIUS of South Gaul Flavian.
 (a) OFCO·IV on 18, Fenchurch St.
 (b) CO·IV on 33, K.W.S.
 on 27, Lombard St.
61. COMITIALIS of Rheinzabern and Westerndorf. Late second—early third century.
 (a) COMITIALIS r. on 37, London.
 (b) COMITIAL r. on 37, London.
62. COMPRINNIUS of Central Gaul Second century.
 (a) COMPRINNIM on 33, London Wall.
63. COMUS of East Gaul (?) Trajanic (?).
 (a) MCOMI r. on 27, London.
- CONDIUS or CONGIUS: see below, s.v. GONDIUS or GONGIUS
64. CONSTAS of Heiligenberg Trajan-Hadrian.
 (a) CONSTAS F on 31, Leadenhall St.
 on 33, Fenchurch St.

65. COSIUS RUFINUS of La Graufesenque . . Neronian-Flavian.
- (a) COSIRVFIN on 18, K.W.S.
 - (b) COSIRVF on 29, G.P.O.
 - (c) COSRVF on 27, K.W.S.
- Very probably the same potter as Rufinus, q.v.
66. COSIUS RUTINUS of La Graufesenque . . Flavian (?).
- (a) COSI·RTIN on 18, G.P.O.
- This rare potter has usually been confused with Cosius Rufinus.
67. L. COSIUS VIRILIS of La Graufesenque . . Flavian-Trajanic.
- (a) OF·L·COS·VIRIL on 33, London.
 - (b) [O]F·L·C·VIRILI[S] on 27, Wood St.
 - (c) :OFLCVIRILIS: on 27, Cornhill.
68. COTOIUS of South Gaul Vespasianic.
- (a) OFCOTOI r. on 29, K.W.S.
69. CRESTIO of La Graufesenque Flavian or earlier.
- (a) OF·CRESTIO on 16, Lothbury.
 - on 18, G.P.O. (2): K.W.S.
 - (2): London.
 - (b) OFCRESTIO on 29, K.W.S.
 - (c) CRESTIO on 18, Rolls Court (Fetter Lane).
 - on 24/25, G.P.O.
 - on 27, Gracechurch St.
 - on 29, K.W.S.
70. CRESTUS of La Graufesenque Nero-Vespasian.
- (a) OFCREST on 18, G.P.O.
 - on 27, G.P.O.
 - (b) CRESTI on 27, Leadenhall St.
 - (c) OFCRESTI r. on 18, Cornhill.
71. CRUCURO of Banassac Vespasian-Trajan.
- (a) CRVCVR on 33, K.W.S.
72. CUCALUS of Lezoux (?) Antonine.
- (a) CVCALIM on 33, Old Broad St.
73. CURMILLUS of Lezoux (?) Trajan-Pius (?).
- (a) CVRMIIHM on 18/31, Water Lane.
74. DAGOMARUS of Lezoux Flavian-Trajanic.
- (a) DAGOMARVSFEC on 33, G.P.O.
 - (b) DAGOMARVSF on 18/31, G.P.O. (fr.).
 - on 27, Leadenhall St. (fr.).
75. DAMONUS of La Graufesenque Pre-Flavian.
- (a) DAMONVS on 27, Paternoster Row.
 - on 29, Gracechurch St.
76. DECUMINUS of South Gaul (?) Flavian.
- (a) DIICVMINVS on 18/31, Gracechurch St.

77.	DIVERUS of Belgic Gaul	. . . . .	Claudian at latest.
(a)	DIVERI	on R 43, London Wall.	
78.	DIVICATUS of Lezoux (?)	. . . . .	Antonine.
(a)	DIVICATVS	on 33, G.P.O.	
79.	DIVIXTUS of Lezoux	. . . . .	Hadrian-Pius.
(a)	DIVIX·F	on 30, London Wall.	
80.	DOCCALUS of East Gaul (?)	. . . . .	Hadrianic-Antonine(?)
(a)	DOCCALI·M	on 27, Southwark.	
(b)	DOCCALI	on 33, Lime St.	
81.	DOMITUS of Banassac	. . . . .	Domitianic.
(a)	DOMITVS·F·	on 18, Southwark.	
(b)	DOMITO	on 33, K.W.S.	
(c)	DOMII r.	on 33, Lombard St. on 27, Old Broad St.: Tokenhouse Yard: Bank of England.	
82.	DONNAUCUS of Lezoux	. . . . .	Trajanic.
(a)	DONNAVCI	on 27, Moorgate St.	
(b)	DONNAVCI	on 33, K.W.S.	
83.	DONTIO of Lezoux (?)	. . . . .	Flavian.
(a)	DONTIOIIIC	on 27, Lothbury. on 33, Threadneedle St.: Tokenhouse Yard: G.P.O.	
84.	DRAUCUS of Montans	. . . . .	Domitian-Trajan.
(a)	DRAVC·|	on 18, Gracechurch St.	
85.	ECUESTER of East Gaul (?).	. . . . .	Second century.
(a)	ECVESTER	on 33, Southwark.	
86.	FECIT (the mark of a South Gaulish potter).	. .	Flavian or earlier.
(a)	FECIT	on 27, K.W.S. on R 9, Angel Court.	
87.	FELIX of La Graufesenque	. . . . .	Flavian or earlier.
(a)	[OF]FELICIS	on 18, Southwark.	
(b)	OFFELIC	on 27, Old Broad St. on R 9, Gracechurch St.	
(c)	OFFELICIS	on 29, K.S.W.: London.	
(d)	OFFELICI	on 18, Nicholas Lane.	
(e)	OFFELICI r.	on 29, G.P.O.	
(f)	OFFELIC	on 27, Southwark.	
(g)	FELIX	on 27, Lothbury.	
(h)	FELIXS·FEC	on 18, Nicholas Lane.	

88. FELIX of East Gaul (?) Hadrianic (?).
 (a) 'KFEIXFK' on 27, London Wall.
89. FIRMO of La Graufesenque Flavian or earlier.
 (a) FIRMO on 27, Southwark.
 (b) ·FIRMO on 27, Gracechurch St.
90. FIRMUS of Heiligenberg and Rheinzagern . . Antonine.
 (a) FIRMVSFC on 33, K.W.S. (2, one fr.).
91. FLORUS of Montans (?) Flavian.
 (a) FLORIMAN on 18, Gracechurch St.
92. FRONTINUS of La Graufesenque Nero-Trajan.
 (a) OFRONTI on 15/17, K.W.S.
 on 18, G.P.O. (2)
 (b) OFRONTI on 18, G.P.O.
 (c) OFRONTIN on 18, London.
 (d) OFF[R]ONTI on 29, Moorgate St.
 (e) FRONTINI on 29, Moorgate St.
93. GAIUS of La Graufesenque Flavian.
 (a) GAIVSF on 18, Battersea.
 (b) OFGAI on 18, Old Broad St.
94. GALBINUS of South or Central Gaul First century.
 (a) GALBINIM on 27, Cornhill.
 No parallels have been recorded; but the external groove on
 the foot-stand shows that the cup is an early one.
95. GALLICANUS of La Graufesenque Claudius-Nero.
 (a) GALLICA'MA on 18, Fenchurch St.
 (b) [G]ALLICAN on 18, K.W.S.
 (c) GALICANI on 29, Finsbury Circus.
96. GALLIUS of La Graufesenque Nero-Vespasian.
 (a) CALLIM on 18, Lombard St.
 on 27, K.W.S.
97. GEMINUS of Lezoux Antonine.
 (a) GEMINI·M on 31, Angel Court.
 (b) GEMINM on 45, St. Helen's Place.
98. GENITOR of Lezoux Antonine.
 (a) GENITOR·F on 18/31, Leadenhall St.
 (b) GENITORF on 31, St. Mary Axe.
99. GIAIMILLUS of Banassac Domitianic.
 (a) GIAIMILLVS on 33, London.
100. GIPPUS of Lezoux Antonine.
 (a) GIPPI·M on 27, Fenchurch St.

101. GNATIUS of La Madeleine Antonine.
 (a) GNAT| on 31, G.P.O.
102. GONDIUS or GONGIUS of Lezoux (?) . . . Trajanic-Antonine.
 (a) GONGIM on 18/31, K.W.S.
103. GRANIANUS of Central Gaul (?) . . . Second century.
 (a) GRANA| on 18/31, St. Helen's Place.
104. GRE(STUS) of South Gaul Flavian.
 (a) OI—GRE on 18, K.W.S.
105. HABILIS of Lezoux Antonine.
 (a) HABILISF on 32, Southwark.
 (b) HABILIS·F on 33, K.W.S.: Pater-
 noster Row (fr.).
106. ILLIOMARUS of Lezoux Nero-Vespasian.
 (a) ILLIOMĀRIM on 33, G.P.O. (2):
 Southwark.
107. INGENUUS of La Graufesenque Pre-Flavian.
 (a) INGENVI on 18, G.P.O.
 on 27, K.W.S.
108. INVENTUS of La Graufesenque (?) Flavian.
 (a) [I]NVENTI on 29, Tooley St.
109. IOENALIS of Central Gaul Trajanic
 (a) IOENAISF on 37, Mincing Lane.
110. IUCUNDUS of La Graufesenque Flavian or earlier.
 (a) IVCVNDI on 27, Gracechurch St. (fr.).
 on 29, Cannon St.
 (b) IVCVN^D on 27, Aldersgate St. :
 Nicholas Lane.
 (c) IVCVN^D on 24/25, K.W.S.
 (d) OFIVCVNDI on 18, Tooley St. (fr.).
 on 29, K.W.S. (3).
 (e) OFIVCVN on 29, Fenchurch St.
111. IULIANUS of Rheinzabern Antonine.
 (a) IVLIANVSF on 31, Fenchurch St.
112. IULICCUS of Lezoux Antonine.
 (a) [I]VLICCI·M on 45, Thames St.
113. C. IULIUS of South Gaul Neronian-Flavian (?).
 (a) OFCAIIVLI on 15/17, Fenchurch St.
114. IULIUS BIO of Central or East Gaul Second century.
 (a) IVLIVSBIO on 31, Gracechurch St.
 No parallel to this stamp has been recorded.
115. C. IULIUS PRIMUS of South Gaul Domitianic.
 (a) C·IVL·PRIM on 18/31, Bishopsgate St.

116. IULLINUS of La Graufesenque Flavian.
 (a) IVLLINI on 18, London Wall.
 (b) IVLLINI on 18, G.P.O.: K.W.S.
117. IUSTUS of La Graufesenque Flavian.
 (a) IIVST on 27, K.S.W.
 It is probable that this potter's full name was Julius Iustus, rather than that the II represents E. Cf. also s.v. SABINUS below.
118. IUSTUS of Lezoux Hadrianic-Antonine.
 (a) IVSTI·M on 38, London.
 (b) IASTI·M on 31, K.W.S.
 (c) IVSTIM on 37, London.
119. LABEO of La Graufesenque Pre-Flavian.
 (a) OF·L[↑]BE on 18, Cornhill.
 on 27, G.P.O.
120. LAETUS of La Graufesenque First century.
 (a) LAETI·M on 18, K.W.S.
121. LAURIO of La Graufesenque Flavian or earlier.
 (a) LAVRIO on R 8, Cornhill.
122. LEGITUMUS of La Graufesenque Pre-Flavian (?).
 (a) OF<L>EGITVMI on 18, Gracechurch St. (2).
 The omission of the initial L is a not uncommon feature of Gallic dialect; cf. also below, s.v. LIBERTUS (No. 122) and LICINIANA.
123. LIBERTUS of La Graufesenque Flavian.
 (a) <L>IBERTVS on 27, Bank of England.
124. LIBERTUS of Lezoux Trajan-Hadrian.
 (a) LIBERTIM on 33, Cornhill.
125. LICINIANA of La Graufesenque Tiberius-Nero.
 (a) OFLICINIANA on 18, K.W.S.
 on 29, Finsbury Circus.
 (b) <L>ICNIANAO on 18, G.P.O.
Liciniana is to be regarded as a stamp of *Licinus*.
126. LICINUS of La Graufesenque Tiberius-Nero.
 (a) LICINI on 27, Gracechurch St. (2).
 (b) OF·LICIN on 27, Southwark.
 (c) OFLICNI on 18, G.P.O.
127. LOGIRNUS of Montans Flavian.
 (a) LOGIRNIM on 18, Lombard St.
 (b) LOGIRNI on 18, Leadenhall St.
 (c) LOGIRNI r. on 29, K.W.S.
 (d) LOGIRN on 18, Bishopsgate St.
 (e) LOGIRNVS on 18, Gracechurch St.

128. LOLLIUS of Central Gaul Trajan-Hadrian (?).
 (a) LOLLI·M on 18/31, K.W.S.
 (b) LOLLIM on 27, G.P.O.
129. LUCANUS of Lezoux Domitianic.
 (a) OI'LVCANI on 27, K.W.S.
130. LUCCEIUS of La Graufesenque Neronian-Flavian.
 (a) OFLVCCEI on 18, K.W.S.
 on 27, Moorgate St.
131. LUPUS of South Gaul Flavian or earlier.
 (a) LVPI·M (*phallus*) on 18/31, Water Lane.
132. MABIO of South Gaul First century.
 (a) OFMABIO on 18, Cornhill.
 No parallels to this stamp have been recorded ; it
 is possible that MABIO may represent two names :
e.g. MA(SCLI) BIO. Cf. 146, below.
133. MACCARUS of La Graufesenque Pre-Flavian.
 (a) OF MACCARI on 18, Southwark.
134. MALLIACUS of Lezoux Antonine.
 (a) MALLIACIM on 32, Fenchurch St.
135. MALLURO of South Gaul Flavian.
 (a) MALLVRO on 18/31, Bishopsgate St.
136. MANDUILUS of La Graufesenque Nero-Vespasian.
 (a) MANDV. on 18, K.W.S. : Nicholas
 Lane (2).
 (b) <MA>-DVIL on 27, Gracechurch St.
137. MANERTUS of South Gaul Pre-Flavian (?).
 (a) MANERTFE on 24/25, Gracechurch St.
 (b) MANERTF on 27, Lombard St.
138. MANSUETUS of Central Gaul (?) Second century (?).
 (a) [MAN]SVETI on 33, G.P.O.
139. MARCELLINUS of Rheinzabern (?) Hadrianic-Antonine.
 (a) MARCELLINIF on 31, Angel Court.
140. MARCUS of Rheinzabern Late second—early
 third century.
 (a) MARCVSF on 32, Leadenhall St.
141. MARINUS of Heiligenberg and Rheinzabern. . . Hadrianic-Antonine.
 (a) MAR[I]NIM on 33, Great Winchester St.
 (b) MΛRΝVΣ on 31, Cannon St.

142. MARTIALIS of La Graufesenque Flavian.
- (a) $\widehat{\text{MARTIALIS}}$ on 18, K.W.S. (fr.).
 - on 18/31, Poultry.
 - (b) $\widehat{\text{MARTIALIS}}\cdot\widehat{\text{VA}}$ on 18, G.P.O.
 - (c) $\widehat{\text{MARTIALISF}}$ on 29, Gracechurch St.
 - (d) $\widehat{\text{MARTIAL}}\cdot\widehat{\text{FECIT}}$ on 18, K.W.S.
143. MARTINUS of Lezoux Antonine.
- (a) MARTINIM on 31, Tokenhouse Yard.
144. MARTIUS of La Graufesenque Flavian.
- (a) OF.MRII on 27, K.W.S.
 - (b) MRIIM on 27, K.W.S.
145. MASCULUS or MASCLUS of La Graufesenque. Flavian or earlier.
- (a) $\widehat{\text{MASCVLVS}}$ on 18, Southwark (2):
K.W.S.
 - (b) $\widehat{\text{MASCVLVS}}$ on 18, K.W.S.
 - (c) $\widehat{\text{MASCVLI}}$ on 33, G.P.O.
 - (d) $\text{M}\wedge\text{SCL}$ on 30, K.W.S.
 - (e) OF·MASCLI on 29, Gracechurch St.
 - (f) OFMASCL on 27, Angel Court: Grace-
church St.
146. MASCLUS and Balbus of La Graufesenque Flavian or earlier.
- (a) $\widehat{\text{MASCLI}}\cdot\widehat{\text{BALBVS}}$ on 15/17, K.W.S. (fr.).
 - on 27, K.S.W.: Pater-
noster Row.
- Balbus is to be regarded as the foreman of Masclus.
147. MASCUUS of La Graufesenque Flavian.
- (a) OFM $\widehat{\text{ASCVI}}$ on 18, Tooley St.
 - (b) OFM $\wedge\text{S}$ on 27, G.P.O.
- This Flavian potter must not be confused with
Masclus.
148. MATERNUS of Lezoux Trajan-Hadrian.
- (a) OFMATER on 31, London.
149. MATUGENUS of Montans Nero-Vespasian.
- (a) $\widehat{\text{MAT}}\cdot[\text{VGE}]$ on 18/31, K.W.S.
 - (b) OF $\widehat{\text{MAT}}\cdot\text{VG}[\text{E}]$ on 18, Fenchurch St.
 - (c) OFMATV on 29, K.W.S.
 - (d) OF $\widehat{\text{MAT}}$ on R 8, K.W.S.
 - (e) OFMAT on 18, G.P.O.

150. MEDETUS of South Gaul . . . Domitian-Trajan.
 (a) MEDETI·M on 18/31, London.
151. MEMOR of La Graufesenque . . . Neronian-Flavian.
 (a) [MJ]EMORISM on 18, K.W.S.
 (b) ΛEMORISA on 27, K.W.S.: Angel Court (2).
- (c) [O]F.MEM on 27, Moorgate St.
152. MERCATOR of Montans . . . Domitian-Trajan.
 (a) MERCA on 18, Paternoster Row.
153. METTIUS of Lezoux . . . Hadrianic-Antonine.
 (a) METTI·M on 33, G.P.O.: London.
154. MINUSO of East Gaul . . . Antonine.
 (a) MINVSO on 31, London.
155. MODESTUS of La Graufesenque . . . Chiefly pre-Flavian.
 (a) OFMODES+ on 18, G.P.O.: K.W.S.: Nicholas Lane: Gracechurch St.
 on 29, K.W.S.: Southwark: Nicholas Lane: Gracechurch St. (fr.).
 (b) OFMODES on 15/17, Fenchurch St. (fr.).
 on 27, G.P.O.
 on 18, Lombard St.
 on 24/25, Gracechurch St.
 (c) OF.MODE on 27, K.W.S. (2): Gracechurch St.
 (d) MODE on 27, K.W.S. (2): Angel Court.
 (e) OFMOD on 27, K.W.S. (2): Gracechurch St.
 (f) OFMOD on 24/25, Gracechurch St.
 (g) OFMOD on 24/25, Lombard St.
 (h) OFMOD on 18, Gracechurch St.
 (i) OFMOI on 27, G.P.O.: K.W.S.
 (j) OFMOE on 27, K.W.S.
156. MOMMO of La Graufesenque . . . Claudio-Titus.
 (a) MOM on 27, G.P.O. (2): K.W.S.
 (b) OMOM on 27, Southwark: Nicholas Lane: Leadenhall St.
 (c) OFMOM on 15/17, K.W.S.
 on 33, Moorgate St.

(d) OFMO	on 27, Southwark : Gracechurch St.
(e) OFMO r.	on 37, Fenchurch St.
(f) <O>FMO	on 27, G.P.O.
(g) OFMOMO|	on 18, Nicholas Lane.
157. MONTANUS of La Graufesenque . . .	Flavian or earlier.
(a) OFMONTANI	on 18, K.W.S. (2) : Moorgate (St. fr.).
(b) MONTANI	on 18, K.W.S.
158. MONTANUS of Heiligenberg . . .	Trajan-Hadrian.
(a) MONTANM	on 27, G.P.O.
(b) MONTANM	on 31, St. Helen's Place.
159. MONTANUS and C.... of La Graufesenque .	Flavian.
(a) OFMONT.C	on 27, London.
(b) OFMONT.C	on 27, Fenchurch St.
(c) OFMONTC	on 33, K.W.S.
160. MONTICUS (?) of La Graufesenque . . .	Flavian.
(a) OI'ANTTI	on 27, K.W.S. (2) : Angel Court : Leadenhall St. : Gracechurch St. (2).
161. MURRANUS of La Graufesenque . . .	Claudius-Vespasian.
(a) OF MVRRAN	on 29, K.W.S.
(b) OFMVRRAN	on 18, G.P.O. : K.W.S. on 24/25, K.W.S. : Tooley St.
(c) OFMVRRAN	on 27, K.W.S. on R 8, Gracechurch St.
(d) OF.MVRRAN	on 15/17, Gracechurch St.
(e) IFMVRRAN	on 18, K.W.S.
(f) OF·MVRA	on 29, Tooley St.
(g) OFMVRAN	on R 8, K.W.S.
(h) OFMVR	on 27, K.W.S.
(i) OFMVRRA	on 29, Lime St. : Gracechurch St.
(j) MVRRA	on 29, G.P.O.
(k) ·MVRRA|	on 18, G.P.O.
(l) M·V·RR	on 27, K.W.S.
162. NATONUS of East Gaul (?) . . .	Trajan-Hadrian (?) .
(a) NATONVSF	on 27, K.W.S.

163. NEPOS of Montans Flavian.
 (a) NEPOTIS r. on 29, Great Winchester St.
164. NEQURES of La Graufesenque Neronian-Flavian.
 (a) NÈQVRES on 27, Cornhill:
 K.W.S.: London
 Wall: London.
 (b) -EQVRE on 27, Tooley St.
 (c) -EQVR on 33, K.W.S.
165. NESTOR of La Graufesenque Pre-Flavian.
 (a) NE2| on 18, K.W.S.
166. NICEPHOR(US) of South or Central Gaul Flavian.
 (a) NICEPHOR·F on 18, Leadenhall St.
 on 27, Threadneedle St.
167. NIGER of Banassac Claudio-Vespasian.
 (a) OFNIGRI on 18, Southwark.
 (b) OF[NIG]RI on 29, K.W.S.:
 Bishopsgate St.:
 Lombard St.,
 London (2).
 (c) OFNIGR on 15/17, K.W.S.
 (d) CFNIGR on 18, K.W.S. (2).
 (e) OF·NIG on R 9, London.
 (f) OFNGR on 15/17, Bishopsgate St.
 on 18, K.W.S. (2).
 on 24/25, G.P.O.
 on 27, G.P.O.: K.W.S.
 (2): Cornhill.
 on 29, Ludgate Hill.
 on R 10, K.W.S.
168. NIGER and AND(ECAVUS ?) of La Graufesenque. Claudio-Vespasian.
 (a) OFNIGRI·AND on 15/17, Tooley St.
 on 18, Bishopsgate St.
 And(ecavus ?) is to be regarded as a foreman of
 Niger.
169. ORTONNUS of Rheinzabern (?) Antonine.
 (a) ORTONNVSF r. on 31, Threadneedle St.
 No other example of this stamp appears to have
 been recorded.
170. OSBIMANUS and CADGATUS of Lezoux (?) Trajan-Hadrian (?).
 (a) [OS]·BIMC·ADC on 18/31, Leadenhall St.
171. OVIDIUS of South or Central Gaul First century.
 (a) OVIDIM on 33, Moorgate St.
 No parallels are recorded; but the cup is an early
 one, approximating to R 10.

172. PACATUS of Rheinzabern Antonine.
 (a) PAC·AT·V·F on 33, G.P.O.
173. PAININUS (?) Second century (?).
 (a) PAININI r. on 33, Fenchurch St.
 The reading of this stamp is not certain; no
 parallels have been recorded.
174. PARCA...
 (a) OPARCA r. on 27, Tokenhouse Yard.
 The reading of this stamp is clear; but no parallels
 are recorded.
175. PASSENUSS or PASSIENUS of La Graufesenque. Nero-Vespasian.
 (a) PASSENIM on 27, Southwark.
 (b) PASSENI . on 18, K.W.S.
 (c) PASSEN on 15/17, Gracechurch St.
 on 18, K.W.S. (2):
 Nicholas Lane:
 Finsbury Circus.
 (d) OFPASSEN on 18, London.
 (e) OFP[A22]ENI on 29, London.
 (f) OFPA[22]EN on 29, Gracechurch St.
 (g) OFPASSE on 18, G.P.O.
 (h) OFPA22E on 18, Angel Court.
 (i) OPASEN on 27, K.W.S. (2):
 Finsbury Circus.
 (j) OPASEN on 24/25, Gracechurch
 St. (fr.).
 on R 8, Gracechurch St.
 (k) O·PASEN on 27, K.W.S.
 (l) PASSIENI on 18, Bishopsgate St.
 (m) PASSIEN on 15/17, G.P.O.
 on 18, Lothbury.
 on 27, K.W.S.
 (n) OFPASSIENI on 29, K.W.S.
 (o) OF·PASSIEN on 29, K.W.S. (2, one
 fr.): Southwark (3).
 (p) OPASIEU on 29, Gracechurch St.
 (q) OFPAS r. on 27, G.P.O.
 (r) OFPASS| r. on 18, Leadenhall St.
176. PAST...IS of South or Central Gaul . . First century.
 (a) PAST[...]ISF on 18, Bishopsgate St.
 No parallel to this stamp has been recorded; the
 centre is too worn to be deciphered, but there appears
 to be space for three letters.
177. PATERCLOS or PATERCLUS of Lezoux . . Domitian-Trajan.
 (a) [P]ATERCLOSFE on 18/31, Aldersgate St.

187. PERRUS of Banassac Flavian or earlier.
 (a) PERRVS·F on 27, K.W.S.
 (b) PERRVSF on 27, K.W.S.
 (c) PERVS on 18, Gracechurch St.
188. PETILIANUS (?) of Rheinzabern (?) . . . Antonine.
 (a) PETII[...]JVSF on 32, Southwark.
189. PONTEIUS or PONTIUS of La Graufesenque . Flavian.
 (a) OFPONTEI on 18, Tokenhouse Yard.
 on 27, London (fr.).
 (b) PONTEI on 18, Southwark.
 (c) PONTI on 27, London Wall.
190. POTITUS of La Graufesenque . . . Pre-Flavian.
 (a) POTITV[S] on 24/25, Fenchurch St.
 (b) POTITIMÀ on 29, Lombard St.
191. PRIMUS of La Graufesenque . . . Claudio-Vespasian.
 (a) PRIMIMA on 18, K.W.S.
 (b) OFPRIMI on 18, G.P.O. : K.W.S.
 on 27, K.W.S.
 on 29, K.W.S.
 (c) PRIMIOF on 27, Paternoster Row.
 (d) OFPRIM on 24/25, K.W.S.
 on 27, G.P.O. : K.W.S. :
 Tokenhouse Yard :
 Finsbury Circus.
 (e) OFPRM on 27, G.P.O.
 (f) PRIMVSFE on 27, Gracechurch St.
 (probably by a later
 potter).
192. PRITMANUS of South Gaul (?) . . . Flavian.
 (a) PRITMANI on 18, K.W.S. : Nicholas
 Lane (fr.).
 (b) OFPRTM[ANI] on 27, G.P.O.
193. Q. V. C. of Central Gaul (?) . . . Pre-Hadrianic (?).
 (a) Q·V·C on 27, Leadenhall St.
 (b) Q·VC on 27, Fenchurch St.
 These initials probably represent the *tria nomina* of
 the potter ; Quintus Valerius may be taken as certain :
 C. may stand for Celsus, a very common cognomen.
194. QUARTUS of La Graufesenque . . . Flavian or earlier.
 (a) QVARTVSF on 18, K.W.S. (2).
195. QUINTILIANUS of Lezoux . . . Second century.
 (a) QVINTILIANI·M on 18/31, Wood St.

196.	QUINTUS of Montans	.	.	.	Claudius-Vespasian.
	(a) QVINTI	on 27,	Southwark.		
197.	QUINTUS of Lezoux	.	.	.	Antonine.
	(a) QVINTI·M	on 33,	Coleman St.		
198.	REDITUS of Central Gaul (?)	.	.	.	Trajan-Hadrian.
	(a) REDITI·MĀ	on 18,	Old Broad St.		
199.	REGALIS of Rheinzabern	.	.	.	Hadrianic-Antonine.
	(a) RIIGALIS·M	on 33,	Water Lane.		
	(b) RIIGALISI	on W 80,	London.		
200.	REGINUS of East Gaul	.	.	.	Trajan-Hadrian.
	(a) REGINI·M	on 33,	Southwark.		
201.	RITOGENUS of Lezoux (?)	.	.	.	Second century.
	(a) RITOGENIM	on 31,	Crutched Friars.		
202.	ROPPUS of South Gaul	.	.	.	Neronian-Flavian.
	(a) ROPPV ^S ·FEC	on 18,	Bishopsgate St.		
	(b) ROPPV ^S ·F	on 18,	Clement's Lane.		
	(c) RO·P. VS·FE	on 27,	Leadenhall St.		
	(d) ROP. VS·FE	on 18/31,	Fenchurch St.		
203.	ROPPUS and RUTINUS of South Gaul	.	.	.	Neronian-Flavian.
	(a) ROPPI·R[VTI]	on 18/31,	K.W.S.		
204.	RUFFUS of La Graufesenque (?)	.	.	.	Flavian (?)
	(a) RVFFI·MA	on 18/31,	Southwark.		
		on 27,	G.P.O. (fr.).		
	(b) RVFFI·M	on 27,	London Wall.		
		on 33,	Great Winchester St.		
205.	RUFINUS of La Graufesenque and Montans.	.	.	.	Neronian-Flavian.
	(a) RVFINI·MĀ	on 18,	Nicholas Lane.		
	(b) RVFINI·M	on 15/17,	K.W.S.		
		on 18,	K.W.S.		
	(c) RVFINIOF	on 18,	Southwark.		
	(d) OF.RVFINI	on 18,	K.W.S.		
	(e) OFRVFIN	on 27,	G.P.O. (2): K.W.S.: South- wark : Threadneedle St.		
		on 29,	Nicholas Lane.		
	(f) OF.RVFNI	on 18,	G.P.O.: Leaden- hall St.: Fenchurch St.		
		on 27,	G.P.O.		
	(g) RVFNIM	on 15/17,	K.W.S.		
	(h) [RV]FNMA	on 27,	K.W.S.		
	(i) RVFN	on 27,	K.W.S.		

The following stamp, usually attributed to a separate potter Rufus, is perhaps rather to be regarded as the product of Rufinus :—

- (j) OFRVF on 27, K.W.S.
206. RUTAENUS of South Gaul Flavian or earlier.
(a) RVTAEN on 27, K.W.S.
207. SABINUS of La Graufesenque and Montans . . Flavian.
(a) ISABINIM on 27, K.W.S. : G.P.O.
 on R 8, Angel Court.
(b) OSABINI on 27, Angel Court.
(c) OFSABI on 27, Angel Court :
 Lothbury.
(d) OFSAB on 18, Moorgate St.
(e) OSA on R 9, Gracechurch St.
- The full name of this potter was presumably (C.) Iulius Sabinus ; cf. also s.v. IUSTUS (No. 117 above).
208. L. (ULPICIUS ?) SABINUS of La Graufesenque. Flavian.
(a) L·S·SABI on 18, K.W.S.
 This potter should not be confused with (Iulius) Sabinus (above).
209. SACER of Lezoux and Heiligenberg . . . Trajanic-Antonine.
(a) SACER on 27, Angel Court
 (stamped twice).
210. SANTIANUS of South Gaul Flavian or earlier.
(a) SANTIANVS on 29, K.W.S. : Moor-gate St.
211. SATERNUS of Central Gaul (?) . . . Domitian-Trajan (?).
(a) ·SATERNVS F on 18/31, G.P.O.
 The reading of this stamp is not certain ; no close parallel has been recorded.
212. SCOTIUS of La Graufesenque Tiberius-Nero.
(a) SCOTIVS on 18, K.W.S.
213. SECUNDUS of La Graufesenque Claudius-Domitian.
(a) SECVN^DI on 18, K.W.S.
(b) SECVN^DI on 27, Tooley St.
(c) SECVN^DI on R 8, Angel Court.
(d) SECVN^DMA on 27, Cornhill.
(e) SECVN^DDM on 27, London Wall.
(f) SECVN^DIM on 18/31, Gracechurch St.
(g) SECVN·F on 33, K.W.S.
(h) OFSECV on 27, Leadenhall St. :
 Poultry.

- (i) OFSECVNDI on 27, Gracechurch St.
(j) [S]ECVNDOF on 27, K.W.S.
214. SECUNDUS of Lezoux Trajan-Hadrian.
(a) SECVNDS·F on 33, Southwark.
215. SEDATUS of Lezoux Second century.
(a) SEDATI·M on 31, Angel Court.
216. SEDATUS of Rheinzabern Hadrianic-Antonine.
(a) SEDATVS·F on 27, Angel Court.
217. SENICIO of La Graufesenque Tiberius-Nero.
(a) SENICIO on 24/25, G.P.O.
on 27, K.W.S.: Lothbury:
Angel Court.
218. SENO of La Graufesenque Tiberius-Nero.
(a) SE[NO]M on 29, K.W.S.
Seno is probably an abbreviation for Senicio.
219. SENTRUS of La Graufesenque Pre-Flavian (?).
(a) SENTRVS·FE on 18, G.P.O.
220. SEVERUS of La Graufesenque Neronian-Flavian.
(a) OFSEVERI on 27, K.W.S.: South-
wark.
(b) OFSEVER on 27, G.P.O.: K.W.S.:
Nicholas Lane.
(c) OF.SEVER+ on 18, K.W.S. (2):
Moorgate St.
(d) OFSEVER+ on 18, Gracechurch St.
(e) OFSEVERI on 18, G.P.O. (2, fr.).
on 29, K.W.S.
(f) OFSEVER on 18, G.P.O.
(g) ⚭SEVERI on 18, K.W.S. (fr.):
Fenchurch St.
(h) OSEVERI on 18, Gracechurch St.
(i) SEVERI on 27, Lombard St.
on 37, K.W.S.
221. SEVERUS and PUDENS of La Graufesenque. Neronian-Flavian.
(a) ⚭SEVERPVD on 18, Southwark (2).
Pudens is to be regarded as a foreman of Severus.
222. SIDUS of Rheinzabern (?) Antonine (?).
(a) SIDVΣ·FIICIT on 31, Poultry.
223. SILVANUS of La Graufesenque Nero-Vespasian.
(a) <S>ILVANI on 24/25, Angel Court.
224. SILVINUS of La Graufesenque Flavian.
(a) OFSILVINI on 27, Leadenhall St.:
Lime St.: London.

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|--|--|
| (b) SILVINIM | on 18, K.W.S. |
| (c) SILVINI | on 18, Moorgate St. |
| (d) SILVINI | on 18, Gracechurch St. |
| 225. SILVIUS of La Graufesenque | Domitian-Trajan. |
| (a) SILVI·M | on 27, London. |
| (b) SILVI·OF | on 18/31, K.W.S. |
| (c) OFSILVI | on 18, Southwark. |
| (d) OFSILVI | on 27, Gracechurch St. |
| 226. SULPICIUS of La Graufesenque | Domitian-Trajan. |
| (a) SVLPICI | on 27, Cornhill. |
| (b) SVLPICI | on 18, London. |
| (c) OFSVLPICI | on 18/31, G.P.O. |
| 227. SUOBNU斯 of Central Gaul (?) | Antonine. |
| (a) SVOBNI·M | on 18/31, G.P.O. (fr.). |
| | on 27, Philip Lane. |
| 228. TASGILLUS of Lezoux | Trajanic (?). |
| (a) TASCILLI·M | on 33, G.P.O. |
| 229. TAURICUS of Lezoux | Antonine. |
| (a) TAVRICIE | on 27, Old Broad St. |
| 230. TEDDILUS of Lezoux (?) | Second century. |
| (a) .\|TE ^D O ^B I\|. . | on 33, Aldersgate St. |
| 231. TERTIUS of La Graufesenque | Neronian-Flavian. |
| (a) TERTIVS·F | on 18, Paternoster Square. |
| (b) TERTIVS | on 27, Lothbury. |
| 232. TIGOMLUS of Central or East Gaul | Second century. |
| (a) TIGOMLIM | on 33, London. |
| | Another example is recorded at Lancaster. |
| 233. TITURO of Lezoux | Antonine. |
| (a) TIT.VRONISOF | on 38, Tooley St. |
| 234. TITURUS of Lezoux (?) | Antonine (?). |
| (a) TITVRI·M | on 33, Tokenhouse Yard. |
| 235. VAISENUS of South or Central Gaul | First century. |
| (a) VA·ISEN | on 18, K.W.S. |
| | on 33, G.P.O. |
| | No other instance of this stamp has been recorded. |
| 236. C. VALERIUS ALBANUS of La Graufesenque. | Flavian. |
| (a) VAA ^L | on 33, K.W.S. |
| 237. VASSENU斯 of South Gaul | Nero-Vespasian. |
| (a) VASSENMA | on 18, Bishopsgate St. (2). |
| | This may be a variant stamp of Passenus; the V, however, is certain. |

238. VAVA

- (a) VAVA on 27, Gracechurch St.
Nothing is known of the provenance or dating of
the potter who stamps thus.
239. VAXTIUS of South or Central Gaul . . . Flavian.
(a) VAXTI on 27, Paternoster Row.
240. VEGETUS of La Graufesenque . . . Flavian or earlier.
(a) VIICTI on 27, Gracechurch St.
241. VERECUNDUS of La Graufesenque . . . Flavian.
(a) VERECV on 27, K.W.S.: Nicholas
Lane.
242. S. VERIUS of La Graufesenque . . . Flavian.
(a) SVIIRIV on 29, Paternoster Row:
Poultry.
243. VICTORINUS of Rheinzabern . . . Hadrianic-Antonine.
(a) VICTO[RI]NVSF on 31, Southwark.
244. VIDUCOS or VIDUCUS of Heiligenberg. . . Hadrianic.
(a) VIDVCOS·F on 27, Tokenhouse Yard.
(b) VIDVCV[S]F on 31, K.W.S.
245. VIMIUS of Central or East Gaul . . . Second century.
(a) VIM·I on 33, G.P.O.
246. VIRB....of South Gaul . . . Neronian.
(a) VIRBFEC+ on 18, K.W.S.
No other example of this stamp has been recorded;
it is conceivable that the B represents a fanciful ligature
of THVS: the stamp bears a close resemblance
to No. 248 (a), VIRTHUS.
247. VIRILIS of La Graufesenque . . . Flavian.
(a) OFVIRILI on 18, G.P.O.: K.W.S.
(2, one fr.): Bishops-
gate St.
on 27, G.P.O.
(b) OFVIRIL on 18, Gracechurch St.
248. VIRTHUS or VIRTUS of La Graufesenque . Pre-Flavian.
(a) VIRTHVSFEC+ on 18, Threadneedle St.
(b) [VIRT]HSFE on 18, K.W.S.
249. VITALIS of La Graufesenque . . . Nero-Trajan.
(a) VITA on 27, G.P.O.: Grace-
church St.
(b) OF.VITA on 18, G.P.O.
(c) OF.VITA. on 18, Angel Court:
Leadenhall St.
(d) OFVITΛ on 29, Lombard St.

(e) VITALISF	on 27, K.W.S. : Pater-noster Row.
(f) VITALISFE	on 33, Gracechurch St.
(g) VITALISOF	on 27, G.P.O.
(h) OFVITALI	on R 9, Gracechurch St.
(i) [O]FVITALI[S]	on 15/17, Gracechurch St.
(j) OFVITALI	on 18, K.W.S.
(k) OFVITAL	on 18, K.W.S.
(l) OFVITA	on 24/25, Moorgate St. on 27, Gracechurch St.
(m) VITAL	on 27, K.W.S.
(n) VITAI	on 33, K.W.S.
(o) VITALISM	on 18/31, King St.

(Stamps (e), (f), and (o) probably belong to an East Gaulish potter; perhaps the South Gaulish firm was transferred, early in the second century, to East Gaul.)

250. URSUS of East Gaul (?)	. . . . .	Trajan-Hadrian (?).
(a) [V]RSVS·FECI[T]	on 27,	Gracechurch St.

APPENDIX II

COINS *

The preponderance of coins of the early Empire in the following list is to be explained by the fact that the upper and later strata of the Roman city have, for the most part, been removed by later builders. Moreover, the number of coins from London of which even the roughest find-spot is indicated is so small, and the information in most cases so vague, that no generalizations on the collection as a whole can be made.

The coins in the Museum bearing the mark of a London mint are all of low denomination (*antoniniani*, *folles* and 3 *AES*) and the marks represented are not of particularly wide range.

The first known mint in London worked in the reign of Carausius (A.D. 287-293) and struck gold, silver and silver-washed copper coins of which the last (*antoniniani*) are by far the most numerous. The mark ML, M(oneta) L(ondinii), occurs frequently; for the variations B|E S|P MLXXI ML and the like see P. H. Webb, *The Reign and Coinage of Carausius*, 1908, reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1907.

The London mint, issuing gold and the silvered copper *antoniniani*, continued under Allectus (A.D. 293-296) but was reorganized by Diocletian. From 296 it ceased, with the exception of the issues (not represented in the Museum) of Magnus Maximus (A.D. 383-88), to strike gold or silver. The mint marks of the period from 296 to 326, when the activities of the Constantian mint seem to have come to an end, are variations of PN, PLN, PLON (*percussa Londinii*), ML, MLN (for which see J. Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne*, II, 1-64).

The Museum collection includes a series of coins, given by W. Sharp Ogden, Esq., F.S.A., bearing London mint marks, but of these the provenance is not known. For a discussion of the London mint, see Dr. F. G. Hill, Appendix IV of the report of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments on *Roman London*.

HOARDS

1. (30.10). A hoard of 17 burnt bronze coins, 2 of Agrippa, and 15 of Claudius I were found together at a depth of about 15 ft. in London Bridge Approach.

* This section has been prepared by Mrs. T. V. Wheeler, F.S.A.

2. (A 1016-22). Small hoard of seven denarii found with a lamp (see above, p. 68) on the Springfield Estate, Acton.

1. Vespasian; A.D. 77-8; Rome.
2. Domitian; A.D. 88-9; Rome.
3. Nerva; A.D. 97; Rome.
4. Trajan; A.D. 103-11; Rome.
5. Trajan; A.D. 114-117; Rome.
6. Marcus Aurelius.
7. Septimius Severus.

3. (30.11). Eleven brass coins—5 of Trajan, 1 of Hadrian, 1 of \textcircumflex elius C \textcircumflex esar, 1 of Lucilla, 1 of Faustina the Elder, and 2 of Antoninus Pius were found in a rubbish pit at a depth of 22 ft. in Nicholas Lane, King William Street.

4. (A 27349). A hoard of 23 *antoniniani* from Fenchurch Street.

- 1-3. Valerian I; 2 of Lugdunum, 1 of Rome.
- 4-5. Gallienus; Lugdunum and Rome.
6. Salonina; Rome.
- 7-8. Saloninus; Lugdunum.
- 9-21. Postumus; all of Lugdunum.
22. Tetricus I; Lugdunum or near.
23. Tetricus II; Lugdunum or near.

5. (29.100). Seven *antoniniani* of Carausius found together in the Thames at Hammersmith. Mints, where decipherable ML (London) and C (? Colchester).

AUGUSTUS (30 B.C.-A.D. 14)

1. (A 17663). *As*; struck by Tiberius. From Hammersmith.

AGRIPPA (d. 12 B.C.)

2. (B 224). *As*; struck by Tiberius. From the site of the new County Hall, Westminster.

TIBERIUS (A.D. 14-37)

3. (A 11318). *Aureus*; A.D. 14-15; Lugdunum. From Tabard Street.

Probably Tiberius

4. (A 2772). *As*; A.D. 14-21; Lugdunum. From the Borough.

NERO CLAUDIUS DRUSUS (died 9 B.C.)

5. (A 23431). *Sestertius*; issued in the reign of Claudius. From London

ANTONIA, wife of Drusus

6. (A 18663). *Dupondius*; provincial mint (? Lugdunum). From Spital Bridge.

Claudius I (A.D. 41-54)

7. (A 23701). *Sestertius*; Rome. From King William Street.
8. (A 23999). *Dupondius*. From the Thames.
9. (A 28413). *Dupondius*. From the site of Barclay's Bank, Lombard Street.
10. (A 24942). *As*; probably provincial mint. From Angel Court with brooch A 24941 (see p. 92).
11. (A 155). *As*; Rome. From Angel Court.
12. (A 2773). *As*; Rome. From the Borough.
13. (A 7049). *As*; Rome. From Threadneedle Street.
14. (A 11349). *As*; Rome. From Ewer Street, Southwark.
15. (A 23407). *As*; Rome. From King William Street, E.C.
16. (A 23432). *As*; Rome. From London.
17. (A 25023). *As*; pierced for use as a pendant. From Angel Court.
18. (A 22189). *As*. From St. Swithin's Lane.
19. (A 25815). *As*. From Gray's Inn Road.

Local Imitations

20. (A 24142). *2AE*; burnt. From Clement's Lane.
21. (A 160). *2AE*. From Copthall Court.
22. (A 11309). *2AE*. From Ewer Street, Southwark.
- 23-25. (A 18660-2). *2AES*. From Spital Bridge.
26. (A 27172). *2AE*. From Lombard Street.

Nero (A.D. 54-68)

27. (A 24219). *Sestertius*; Rome. From Cornhill.
28. (A 24735). *Sestertius*; Lugdunum. From Bishopsgate Street.
29. (A 2777). *Dupondius*; Lugdunum. From the High Street, Borough.
30. (A 3862). *Dupondius*; ?Lugdunum. From Moorgate Street.
- 31-2. (A 23424-5). *Dupondius*; Lugdunum. From London-Wall.
33. (A 23426). *Dupondius*; SC in field and II, mark of value, in exergue. From Crutched Friars, 1921.
34. (A 23430). *As*; ?Rome. From King William Street.
35. (A 28414). *As*; c. A.D. 63. From the bed of the Walbrook, Tokenhouse Yard, 1926.
36. (A 2763). *As*; c. A.D. 65; Lugdunum. From the Borough.
37. (A 2764). *As*; A.D. 66-8; Lugdunum. From the High Street, Borough.
38. (A 11333). *As*; A.D. 66-8; Lugdunum. From Southwark.

39-46. (A 2759-62, A 2765, A 2768, A 2771, A 2774). *Ases*; Lugdunum. From the High Street, Borough. There is no record that they were found together.

47. (A 2780). *As*; Lugdunum. From London.
48. (A 2782). *As*; ?Lugdunum. From London Wall.
49. (A 4918). *As*; Lugdunum. From Angel Court.
50. (A 11379). *As*; Lugdunum. From Mint Street.

Probably Nero

51. (A 10795). *Sestertius*; Rome. From Leadenhall Street.

GALBA (A.D. 68-9)

52. (A 11319). *Sestertius*; A.D. 68-9; Rome. From Southwark.
53. (A 15536). *Sestertius*. From London Wall.
54. (A 2758). *Sestertius*. From the Borough.

VESPASIAN (A.D. 69-79)

55. (A 28273). *Denarius*; A.D. 69-72. From King William Street, 1926.
56. (A 11316). *Denarius*; A.D. 77-8; Rome. From the site of the Globe Theatre, Southwark.
57. (A 11741). *Denarius*. From Leadenhall Street, 1913.
58. (A 22197). *Sestertius*; A.D. 70-1; Rome. From Finsbury Circus.
59. (29.148/6). *Sestertius*; A.D. 71; Rome. From Threadneedle Street.
60. (A 7709). *Sestertius*; A.D. 71; Lugdunum.
61. (A 25893). *Sestertius*; A.D. 77-8; Rome. From Broken Wharf, Thames Street.
62. (A 11901). *Sestertius*; A.D. 69-73. From St. Martin's-le-Grand.
63. (A 2757). *Dupondius*; A.D. 72-3; Lugdunum. From the High Street, Borough.
64. (A 2787). *Dupondius*; A.D. 72-3; Lugdunum. From the High Street, Borough.
65. (A 12255). *Dupondius*; A.D. 72-3; Lugdunum. From St. Martin's-le-Grand.
66. (A 24208). *Dupondius*; A.D. 69-73. From the site of Guy's Hospital.
67. (29.148/3). *Dupondius*; A.D. 69-73; Lugdunum. From Leadenhall Street.
68. (29.148/4). *Dupondius*; A.D. 69-73; ?Rome. From Lime Street.
69. (A 9473). *As*; A.D. 70-1; ?Rome. From Crosby Street.
70. (A 3864). *As*; A.D. ?70; Lugdunum. From Crosby Street.
71. (A 2769). *As*; A.D. 71; Rome. From the Borough.

72. (29.148/1). *As*; A.D. 71; Rome. From Leadenhall Street.
73. (A 11335). *As*; A.D. 71; Lugdunum. From the site of the King's Head, Southwark.
74. (A 11337). *As*; A.D. ? 71; Lugdunum. From the site of the King's Head, Southwark.
75. (A 2766). *As*; A.D. 71; Lugdunum. From the High Street, Borough.
76. (A 10796). *As*; A.D. 71; Lugdunum. From Copthall Court.
77. (A 20502). *As*; A.D. 71; Lugdunum. From Leadenhall Street.
78. (A 2787). *As*; A.D. 71-3; Lugdunum. From Barge Yard.
79. (29.148/2). *As*; A.D. 71-3; ?Lugdunum. From Leadenhall Street.
80. (A 11383). *As*; A.D. 72-3; Lugdunum. From the N.E. corner of St. Saviour's Church, E.C.
81. (A 2770). *As*; A.D. 77-8; Lugdunum. From the High Street, Borough.
82. (A 3861). *As*; A.D. 77-8; Lugdunum. From Moorgate Street.
83. (A 4941). *As*; A.D. 77-8; Lugdunum. From Angel Court.
84. (A 10762). *As*; A.D. 77-8; Lugdunum. From Angel Court.
85. (A 7393). *As*; A.D. 77-8; Lugdunum. From London.
86. (A 3863). *As*; Lugdunum. From Moorgate Street.
87. (A 24220). *As*; Lugdunum. From Miles Lane.
88. (A 23427). *2AE*; A.D. 71-3. From Lombard Street.

Probably Vespasian

89. (A 23423). *As*. From Leadenhall Street.

TITUS (A.D. 79-81)

90. (A 16548). *Denarius*; A.D. 79; Rome. From the Thames at Barnes.
91. (A 11380). *Sestertius*; A.D. 80; Rome. From the N.E. Corner of St. Saviour's Church, E.C.
92. (A 12249). *Dupondius*. From the Tower Moat, Sept. 1898.

DOMITIAN (A.D. 81-96)

93. (A 3860). *Sestertius*; A.D. 85; Rome. From Moorgate Street.
94. (A 2574). *Sestertius*; A.D. 86. From Angel Court.
95. (A 2785). *Dupondius*; A.D. 85; Rome. From the High Street, Borough.
96. (A 7957). *Dupondius*; A.D. 86; Rome. From the Thames at Battersea.
97. (A 28412). *Dupondius*; A.D. 86; Rome. From the bed of the Walbrook, Tokenhouse Yard.

98. (A 16540). *As*; A.D. 77-8; ?Lugdunum. From the Thames off Hammersmith.

99. (29.99/2). *As*; A.D. 85; Rome. From Thames Street.

100-1. (29.99/3-4). *Ases*; A.D. 86; Rome. From Thames Street.

102. (A 10621). *As*; A.D. 86; Rome. From Gracechurch Street.

103. (A 5574). *As*; A.D. 86; Rome. From Angel Court.

104. (A 11390). *As*; A.D. 86; Rome. From Southwark.

105. (A 157). *As*; A.D. 86; Rome. From the Thames, near London Bridge.

106. (A 2775). *As*; A.D. 87; Rome. From the Borough.

107. (A 25894). *As*; A.D. 86; Rome. From Thames Street.

108. (A 11372). *As*; A.D. 86; Rome. From Mint Street.

109. (A 11367). *As*; A.D. 86; Rome. From Tabard Street.

110. (A 10808). *As*; A.D. 87; ?Rome. From the Thames at Brentford.

111. (A 16549). *As*; A.D. 87; ?Rome. From the Thames at Brentford.

112. (B 223). *As*; Rome. From the site of the County Hall, Westminster.

NERVA (A.D. 96-8)

113. (A 28272). *Sestertius*; A.D. 97; Rome. From Tokenhouse Yard, 1926.

114. (29.99/1). *Sestertius*; A.D. 98; Rome. From Thames Street.

TRAJAN (A.D. 98-117)

115. (29.148/5). *Denarius*; A.D. 101-2; Rome. From Lime Street.

116. (A 9286). *Denarius*; A.D. 101-111; Rome. From Crosby Street.

117. (A 9370). *Denarius*; A.D. 112-114; Rome. From Crosby Street.

118. (A 15537). *Denarius*; A.D. 103-111; Rome. From the Thames at Hammersmith.

119. (A 15538). *Denarius*; A.D. 103-111; Rome. From the Thames at Hammersmith.

120. (A 10760). *Sestertius*; A.D. 101-2; Rome. From Angel Court.

121. (A 11335). *Sestertius*; A.D. 103-111; Rome. From the site of the "King's Head," Southwark.

122. (A 2778). *Sestertius*; A.D. 103-111; Rome. From London.

123. (A 10761). *Sestertius*; A.D. 103-111; Rome. From Angel Court.

124. (A 16512). *Sestertius*; A.D. 103-111; Rome. From the site of the General Post Office.

125. (A 149). *Sestertius*; A.D. 103-111; Rome. From Long Lane, Bermondsey.

126. (A 2776). *Sestertius*; A.D. 103-111; Rome. From the High Street, Borough.
127. (A 19972). *Sestertius*; A.D. 103-117; Rome. From Barnham Street, Tooley Street.
128. (A 20527). *Sestertius*; A.D. 112-117; Rome. From Leadenhall Street.
129. (29.148/8). *Sestertius*; c. 114-117; Rome. From the site of the "King's Head," Southwark.
130. (A 11381). *Sestertius*; c. A.D. 116-117; Rome. From the N.E. corner of St. Saviour's Church, E.C.
131. (A 23408). *Dupondius*; A.D. 98-9; Rome. From London.
132. (A 1009). *Dupondius*; A.D. 98-9; Rome. From Moorgate Street.
133. (A 1010). *Dupondius*; A.D. 107; Rome. From Moorgate Street.
134. (A 151). *Dupondius*; c. A.D. 107; Rome. From Copthall Court.
135. (29.99/5). *Dupondius*; A.D. 103-111; Rome. From Thames Street.
136. (A 24217). *Dupondius*; A.D. 103-111; Rome. From Gracechurch Street.
137. (A 27171). *Dupondius*; A.D. 112-117; Rome. From Lombard Street.
138. (A 152). *As*; A.D. 98-9; Rome. From Copthall Court.
139. (29.148/7). *As*; A.D. 103-111; Rome. From the bed of the Walbrook, Blomfield Street.
140. (A 11339). *As*; Rome. From the site of the "King's Head," Southwark.
141. (A 24207). *2AE*. From Cornhill.

HADRIAN A.D. 117-138

142. (A 16547). *Denarius*; A.D. 119-122; Rome. From the Thames at Barnes.
143. (A 11349). *Denarius*; A.D. 134-138; Rome. From Ewer Street, Southwark.
144. (A 16529). *Sestertius*; A.D. 118; Rome. From the Thames near Barnes.
145. (29.99/6). *Sestertius*; A.D. 119-121; Rome. From Thames Street.
146. (29.99/7). *Sestertius*; A.D. 134-8; Rome. From Thames Street.
147. (A 15539). *Dupondius*; A.D. 119-21; Rome. From the Thames at Hammersmith.
148. (A 16498). *Dupondius*; A.D. 132-4; Rome. From Water Lane.
149. (A 10763). *As*; A.D. 118; Rome. From Angel Court.

150. (A 2779). *As*; A.D. 119; Rome. From London.
151. (A 153). *As*; A.D. 120; Rome. From Angel Court.
152. (A 7394). *As*; A.D. 125-8; Rome. From London.
153. (A 2786). *As*; A.D. 138; Rome. From London.

Posthumous, issued under Antoninus Pius

154. (A 150). *Sestertius*; issued between July 10th, A.D. 138, and early A.D. 139; Rome. From Long Lane, Bermondsey.
155. (A 2767). *As*; A.D. 138-9; Rome. From the High Street, Borough.

SABINA, wife of Hadrian (A.D. 128-136)

156. (A 144). *Dupondius*; Rome. From Angel Court.
157. (A 2784). *2AE*; possibly posthumous; Rome. From London.

ANTONINUS PIUS (A.D. 138-61)

158. (A 11382). *Denarius*; A.D. 152. From the N.E. Corner of St. Saviour's Church, E.C.
159. (A 16505). *Sestertius*; A.D. 145-161. From the site of the old General Post Office.
160. (A 11297). *Sestertius*. From Southwark.
161. (A 11374). *Sestertius*; A.D. 152. From Mint Street.
162. (A 19971). *Sestertius*. From Tooley Street.
163. (29.98/8). *Dupondius*. From Thames Street.
164. (A 20509). *As*; A.D. 139. From Denman Street, S.E.
165. (A 10620). *As*. From the Thames at Kew.
166. (A 11740). *As*. From Holborn.
167. (A 11410). *Quadrans*. From Tooley Street.

FAUSTINA THE ELDER (died A.D. 141)

168. (A 161). *Denarius*. From Fenchurch Street.
169. (A 16503). *Sestertius*. From the site of the old General Post Office.
170. (29.148/9). *Sestertius*. From the site of the King's Head, Southwark.
171. (A 10764). *As*. From Angel Court.

MARCUS AURELIUS (A.D. 161-180)

172. (A 20531). *Denarius*. From Leadenhall Street.
173. (A 2783). *Sestertius*; A.D. 161. From London.
174. (A 12317). *Sestertius*; A.D. 145. From Crutched Friars.

FAUSTINA THE YOUNGER (A.D. 141-175)

175. (A 11326). *Denarius*. From Red Cross Street, Borough.
176. (A 20529). *2AE*; Cyzicus. From Leadenhall Street.
177. (A 9275). *2AE*. From Crosby Street.

COMMODUS (A.D. 180-192)

178. (A 14573). *Denarius*. From King William Street.
179. (A 156). *Dupondius*. From Angel Court.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (A.D. 193-211)

180. (A 158). *Denarius*; c. A.D. 200. From Russell Square.
181. (A 14781). *Denarius*; c. A.D. 200. Found "in excavating the Under-ground Railway."

CARACALLA (Cæsar A.D. 196;

- joint emperor, A.D. 198; sole emperor, A.D. 212-217)
182. (A 23428). *1AE*. From London Wall.

Probably Caracalla

183. (A 20530). *Denarius*. From Leadenhall Street.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER (A.D. 222-235)

184. (29.57). *Denarius*; A.D. 228. From Queen Street, E.C.

JULIA MAMÆA (mother of Alexander;
Augusta, A.D. 222; murdered, A.D. 235)

185. (A 7532). *2AE* (probably an *as*). From London.

MAXIMUS (A.D. 235-238)

186. (A 20508). *Antoninianus*. From Leadenhall Street.

GALLIENUS (A.D. 253-268)

187. (A 2794). *Antoninianus*. From London.

188. (28.157/2). *Antoninianus*; ^IMP (Mediolanum). From Queen Victoria Street.

189. (28.157/1). *Antoninianus*. From Queen Victoria Street.

190. (A 19108). *Antoninianus*; ^M(Mediolanum). From London.

191. (A 24000). *Antoninianus*. From the Thames.

CORNELIA SALONINA (wife of Gallienus)

192. (A 154). *Antoninianus*; A.D. 257-8; Rome. From Angel Court.

POSTUMUS (A.D. 258-267)

193. (A 11364). *Antoninianus*. From Tabard Street.

194. (A 17665). *Antoninianus*; $\frac{\text{P}|\cdot}{\dots}$ From Whitechapel.

VICTORINUS (A.D. 268-270)

195. (A 19112). *Antoninianus*. From London.

196. (A 23998). *Antoninianus*. From the Thames.

197. (A 5467). *Antoninianus*. From Whitecross Street.

198. (A 11365). *Antoninianus*. From Tabard Street.

199-201. (A 19109-11). *Antoniniani*. From London.

TETRICUS I (A.D. ? 270-273)

202. (28.157/3). *Antoninianus*. From Queen Victoria Street.

203-205. (A 16541-3). *Antoniniani*. Found together in the Thames at Hammersmith.

206. (A 20499a). *Antoninianus*. From Leadenhall Street.

207. (A 20528). *Antoninianus*. From Leadenhall Street.

208. (A 17664). *Antoninianus*. From Houndsditch.

Barbarous imitation

209. (A 11353). $3AE$. From Ewer Street.

Probably Tetricus I

210. (A 24210). $3AE$. From the site of Guy's Hospital.

TETRICUS II (A.D. ? 270-273)

211. (28.157/4). *Antoninianus*. From London.

212. (A 2795). *Antoninianus*. From London.

213. (28.157/13). *Antoninianus*. From Queen Victoria Street.

Barbarous imitation

214. (28.157/2). *Antoninianus*. From Queen Victoria Street.

MAXIMIANUS HERCULEUS (Cæsar, A.D. 285;

Augustus, A.D. 286-305)

215. (A 20448). $3AE$; KE. From Tabard Street.

CARAUSIUS (A.D. 287-293)

216. (A 7956). *Antoninianus*; $\frac{\text{B}|\text{E}}{\text{MLXXI}}$ (London). From Hammersmith.

217. (A 16545). *Antoninianus*; $\frac{\text{B|E}}{\text{MLXXI}}$ (London). From the Thames at Hammersmith.

218. (A 17667). *Antoninianus*; $\frac{\text{L|}}{\text{ML}}$ (London). From Hammersmith.

219. (A 2788). *Antoninianus*; $\frac{\text{S|P}}{\text{ML}}$ (London). From London.

220. (A 17668). *Antoninianus*; $\frac{\text{ML}}{\text{...}}$ (London). From Hammersmith.

221. (A 20521). *Antoninianus*; $\frac{\text{ML}}{\text{...}}$ (London). From the Farringdon Road, E.C.

222. (A 9310). *Antoninianus*; $\frac{\text{S|C.}}{\text{...}}$ From London.

223. (A 18635). *Antoninianus*; $\frac{\text{S|P.}}{\text{...}}$ From London.

224. (A 9311). *Antoninianus*; $\frac{\text{L|}}{\text{...}}$ From Hammersmith.

The mint marks of the following *Antoniniani* are undecipherable :—

225. (A 1011). From Angel Court.

226. (A 11352). From Ewer Street.

227. (A 11371). From Mint Street.

228. (A 11384). From the N.E. Corner of St. Saviour's Church, E.C.

229. (A 11638). From the Thames at Hammersmith.

230. (A 16544). From the Thames at Hammersmith.

231. (A 19120). From London Wall.

232. (A 22188). From King's Cross.

ALLECTUS (A.D. 293-296)

233. (A 11674). *Quinarius*; QL (London). From the Thames at Hammersmith.

234. (A 5577). *Quinarius*; $\frac{\text{QC}}{\text{...}}$ (? Colchester). From the Thames at Hammersmith.

235. (A. 11672). *Antoninianus*; $\frac{\text{S|A}}{\text{ML}}$ (London). From the Thames at Hammersmith.

236. (A 11343). *Antoninianus*; $\frac{\text{S|A}}{\text{ML}}$ (London). From the site of the "King's Head," Southwark.

237. (A 12262). *Antoninianus*; $\frac{\text{S|A}}{\text{ML}}$ (London). From Holborn.

238. (29.99/9). *Antoninianus*; \overline{ML} (London). From Thames Street.

239. (A 11673). *Antoninianus*; $\frac{S|P}{C}$ (? Colchester). From the Thames at Hammersmith.

240. (A 7958). *Antoninianus*; $\frac{S|P}{C}$ (? Colchester). From London.

GALERIUS (Caesar, A.D. 292; Augustus, A.D. 305-311)

241. (A 23429). *Follis*; $\frac{B|I}{TR}$ (Trier). From Fenchurch Street.

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS (Caesar, A.D. 292; Augustus, A.D. 305-306)

242. (A 14966). *Follis*; \overline{PLN} (London). From Millbank.

243. (A 24211). *Follis*; $\frac{F|I}{PLN}$ (London). From Guy's Hospital.

LICINIUS SENIOR (A.D. 307-323)

244. (A 19119). $3AE$; $\frac{\times}{\circ \overline{SANT}^{\text{iii}}}$ (Antioch). From London Wall.

245. (A 23410). $3AE$; $\frac{P|L}{PTR}$ (Trier). From Fenchurch Street.

LICINIUS JUNIOR (Caesar, A.D. 317; murdered, A.D. 326)

246. (A 19118). $3AE$. \overline{PTR} (Trier ?). From London Wall.

CONSTANTINE I (Caesar, A.D. 306; Augustus, A.D. 307-337)

247. (A 7352). $3AE$; A.D. 313-17; $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$ (London). From London.

248. (28.157/6). $3AE$; A.D. 317-324; \overline{SIS} (Siscia). From Queen Victoria Street.

249. (A 2793). $3AE$; A.D. 320-324; \overline{STR} (Trier). From London.

250. (A 17655). $3AE$; A.D. 330-7; \overline{CONS} (Arles). From Greenwich Park.

251. (28.157/5). $3AE$; A.D. 330-3; \overline{PCONST} (Arles). From Queen Victoria Street.

252. (A 11296). *Follis*; \overline{PLN} (London). From Southwark.

253. (A 9476). $3AE$; \overline{IRQ} . From Crosby Street.

254. (A 19116). $3AE$; \overline{CONS} (Arles). From Farringdon Street, E.C.

255. (A 19117). $3AE$; \overline{TRP} (Trier). From London Wall.

256. (A 20507). $3AE$. From the Farringdon Road.
 257. (A 20520). $3AE$. From Farringdon Street, E.C.
 258. (A 23409). $3AE$. From Lombard Street, 1921.
 259. (A 14791). $3AEQ$; \overline{TRP} (Trier). From Duke Street, Aldgate.

URBS ROMA (A.D. 333-335)

260. (28.157/7). $3AE$; \overline{TRS} (Trier). From Queen Victoria Street.
 261. (A 23443). $3AE$; \overline{PLG} (Lyons). From Hendon.
 262. (A 14788). $3AE$; \overline{TRP} (Trier). From Duke Street, Aldgate.
 263. (A 14790). $3AE$; $\overline{TR.P}$ (Trier). From Duke Street, Aldgate.
 264. (A 23442). $3AE$. From Hendon.

CONSTANTINOPOLIS (A.D. 330-337)

265. (28.157/9). $3AE$; $\overline{P\cdot CON}$ (Arles). From Queen Victoria Street.
 266. (28.157/8). $3AE$; $\overline{TR\cdot S}$ (Trier). From Queen Victoria Street.
 267. (A 20523). $3AE$; \overline{TRS} (Trier). From Farringdon Street, E.C.
 268. (A 23445). $3AE$; \overline{PLG} (Lyons). From Hendon.

CRISPUS (Cæsar, A.D. 317-326)

269. (A 159). $3AE$. From Angel Court.
 270. (A 16546). $3AE$; A.D. 320-4; \overline{PLN} (London). From the Thames at Hammersmith.

CONSTANTINE II (Cæsar, A.D. 317; Augustus, A.D. 337-340)

As Cæsar

271. (A 22291). $3AE$; \overline{CONS} (Arles). From London.
 272. (A 20447). $3AE$; A.D. 320-324; $\overline{F|B}$ \overline{PLON} (London).. From Tabard Street, Southwark.
 273. (A 23441). $3AE$; \overline{PLG} (Lyons). From Hendon.
 274. (28.157/10). $3AE$; \overline{SMNA} (Nicomedia). From Queen Victoria Street.
 275. (A 23440). $3AE$; \overline{TRS} (Trier). From Fenchurch Street.
 276. (28.157/11). $3AE$; \overline{PSIS} (Siscia). From Queen Victoria Street.
 277. (A 23437). $3AEQ$; \overline{PLG} (Lyons). From Leadenhall Street.
 278. (A 22299). $3AEQ$; \overline{PLG} (Lyons). From London.

279. (A 22200). $3AEQ$; \overline{TRS} (Trier). From London Wall.
280. (A 20525). $3AEQ$. From Farringdon Street.

As Augustus

281. (A 2789). $3AE$; A.D. 324-6; \overline{MNT} (Nicomedia). From London.
282. (A 7050). $3AE$; \overline{CONST} (Arles). From Threadneedle Street.
283. (A 2791). $3AE$; \overline{PLG} (Lyons). From London.
284. (A 2343). $3AE$; $\overline{TR\cdot S}$ (Trier). From Hendon.
285. (A 20528). $3AE$. From Leadenhall Street.
286. (A 20524). $3AE$; \overline{SMAQS} (Aquileia). From Leadenhall Street.
287. (A 22298). $3AEQ$; \overline{TRS} (Trier). From London.
288. (A 22295). *Minim.* From London.

CONSTANTIUS II (Cæsar, A.D. 324; Augustus, A.D. 337-361)

289. (A 23445). $3AE$; \overline{PCONST} (Arles). From Hendon.
290. (29.99/10). $3AE$; \overline{ESIS} (Siscia). From Thames Street.
291. (A 11329). $3AE$; A.D. 330-5; \overline{TR} . (Trier). From King Street, Borough.
292. (A 22293). $3AE$; \overline{TRS} (Trier). From London.
293. (A 2790). $3AE$; \overline{AMB} (Amiens). From London.
294. (A 11334). $3AE$. From the site of the "King's Head," Southwark.

CONSTANS (Cæsar, A.D. 333; Augustus, A.D. 337-50)

295. (A 22300). $3AE$; \overline{TCON} (Arles). From London.
296. (A 22292). $3AE$; \overline{TRS} (Trier). From London.
297. (A 22296). $3AE$; \overline{TRP} (Trier). From London.
298. (A 22294). $3AE$; \overline{TRS} (Trier). From London.
299 (A 22297). $3AE$. From London.

Probably Constans

300. (A 23444). $3AE$. From Hendon.

Constantine family

301. (A 24209). $3AE$ (barbarous). From the site of Guy's Hospital.
302. (A 20522). $3AEQ$. From Farringdon Street.

MAGNENTIUS (A.D. 350-353)

303. (A 2792). $3AE$; A.D. 350-1; $\frac{AI}{TR..}$ (Trier). From London.

VALENS (A.D. 364-378)

304. (A 17666). *Siliqua*; \overline{TRPS} (Trier). From Hammersmith.

305. (A 20500a). $3AE$; \overline{PTR} (Trier). From Leadenhall Street.

306. (A 11342). $3AE$. From the site of the "King's Head," Southwark.

4th century

307. (A 11742). $3AE$ (barbarous); \overline{PT} . From Leadenhall Street.

308. (A 24212). *Minim.* From the site of Guy's Hospital.

309. (A 26927). *Minim* (barbarous). From Westcombe Park, S.E.

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